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THE SHIP OF STATE ADRIFT.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

WHY is it that, ever since the people decided that the Republican party should leave the helm, and that the Democratic party should take it, the Ship of State has not sailed, but drifted?

There never was a decade during which the gallant craft sailed so prosperously as in that of 1880–1890.

Under President Harrison every willing and capable man found employment, wages were never so high, capital never better rewarded, and the national revenues, after paying every demand, left a surplus; whereas this year so far they have fallen short twenty-four millions, last year to the same date forty-seven millions, the year preceding sixty-five millions. Here are a few figures which measure the progress made in the ten years:

In national wealth the change was from 43 to 65 thousand millions: in national debt the reduction, less cash in Treasury, from 19 to less than 9 thousand millions. Since 1890 the national debt has increased nearly fifty millions. Value of manufactures increased in the period under consideration from 5,369 to 8,700 millions; railways from 87,724 to 163,562 miles. The production of pig iron in 1880 was 4,277; in 1890, 9,202 million tons. Farms improved represented in 1880, 284; in 1890, 348

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millions of acres. The cotton crop in 1880 was 5,757,397 bales; in 1890, fully nine millions. The value of textiles—wool, cotton, and silk—rose from 500 to 674 millions. Wealth per head in 1880 was $870; in 1890 it reached a thousand.

A page could be filled with similar contrasts, the whole making such a record of material progress as the world has never seen. Our ship was first, all others distanced in the race.

The credit of the Republic touches us nearly. In March, 1892, the comparison was as follows: British 2¾ per cents, 98⅞; United States 2 per cents, 99½. To-day it is sadly reversed: British 2¾ per cents, 112; United States 2 per cents, 94½.

More than half of this decade has already passed, and if the next half is to be of a similar character, we know that as 1880 to 1890 was that of the greatest prosperity, 1890 to 1900 is to be one of the greatest stagnation. Exact results cannot be known until the 1900 census is taken, but one indication we have in the number of miles of railways built 1890 to 1895. We have seen the average for the preceding decade was per year 7,600 miles. In this decade so far it is not half.

Too plainly is it seen that the Ship of State has not been sailing well. If this could be attributed to conditions which prevail, and if other nations were in like plight, we might harbor the flattering notion that it is neither the ship, nor the crew, nor their mode of handling it, that is to blame, but the winds and waves which retard other ships equally with our own. But if we note how our principal competitor is doing, we find that it never made greater progress. Great Britain has just made her annual statement, and by her advance we may reckon the extent of our retrogression. After paying all expenses, her surplus was for the year $110,000,000. Her shipyards never had so much work; every department of business has revived. The Monarchy is speeding over the waves triumphantly, while our good ship The Republic lies as if waterlogged. We who were always first are being outsailed. We are not in the race.

However partisans may differ as to the reasons for this humiliating reverse, not even the bitterest and most ignorant can dispute the fact that we are left hopelessly behind in the race for national prosperity.

Now there must be a reason or reasons for this. Our natural resources remain unequalled; our advantages over other nations

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have not changed; the physical conditions under which the record of the Republic has been hitherto unequalled among the nations are still here; the sun still shines, and our cotton and our cereals still spring forth; our mines never gave up such riches; our people never were so intelligent, our workmen so skilful. We cannot, therefore, look to physical changes for the lamentable stagnation that has come over us.

If it be not in the act of nature, then we must seek it in the act of man—in legislation. Wherein has legislation changed in recent years? It has changed in two particulars. First, in 1878 legislation attempted to push the United States from the solid rock of gold as the standard of value, and to introduce by artificial means a rival standard. It brought silver into the currency not as a convenience for small coin, but by the purchase of two millions of dollars per month which were ordered to be coined whether the nation needed it or not, silver was injected into the currency. Subsequent legislation increased these purchases to four millions ($4,000,000) per month for which silver notes were issued, which passed into the currency, and finally produced such a strain upon the amount of gold in circulation and in the treasury, as to cause doubts to arise in the minds of the most farseeing and prudent as to the ability of the United States to redeem these silver notes in the standard metal gold, and thus maintain the much talked of "parity" of the two dollars, the silver dollar worth fifty cents in the markets of the world and the gold dollar worth one hundred cents everywhere. Thus was poison forced into the hitherto pure blood of the body politic, and from that day to this the national health has been slowly but surely undermined.

This is a matter above party; let us not hesitate, therefore, to place the blame where it belongs, upon our own party, the Republican. It was the Republican party that poisoned the currency of the nation. It was the Republican party that doubled the amount of poison, which speedily produced its baneful effect. It threatened the capital of the world abroad and it sapped the roots of confidence at home; hence the stagnation of business; hence the contrast between 1880–1890 and 1890–1900. The poison was there before 1890 in small doses, but such was the strength of the patient that he continued to perform his usual functions for a long time after the poison had entered his system, but his vitality was, nevertheless, ceaselessly being sapped.

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President Harrison left the helm and President Cleveland took it, and the ship began to drift. But had President Harrison been re-elected and continued at the helm, the ship could not have continued its progress very long. It would not have drifted so far out of its course as it has done under President Cleveland, because the revenues of the government would have been maintained, but it could never have made creditable headway. Unfortunately, President Cleveland took the helm committed to produce a radical change in the fiscal system of the country. In his former term of office he had to deal with a great surplus, and his trouble was to get rid of that; "a condition, not a theory," confronted him, as he said. But surely, after he returned to power, this condition had changed; there was then no surplus possible. It was soon seen that the question was whether the revenues of the government would be sufficient for its wants. The continued purchases of silver had produced a great panic. When these were stopped—all credit to President Cleveland for this stoppage—and the nation was slowly regaining strength, the Baring panic occurred, one of the most acute ever known, and the country lay prostrate and enfeebled. President Cleveland's "condition" had changed, and President Cleveland should have changed with it. Unfortunately, his party pressed on, probably against the judgment of the President, for the party soon broke from control and insisted upon revolutionizing the fiscal system, when the national patient was in no condition to undergo a surgical operation. The excitement and alarm, the harrowing fear of every business interest, inevitably caused by every threatened lowering of duties, threw the industrial world into confusion and dismay. No recovery was possible.

Even had the new Tariff bill produced revenues sufficient for the wants of the government, the poisoned silver in our currency would have prevented prosperity; but when to this poison in the national veins was added the dangerous cutting and slashing, which a great change in the tariff necessitates, we have sufficient reason to account for the drifting of the ship. There can be no question but that the monthly deficit in revenues and borrowing through the issue of bonds in a time of peace aggravated the situation, because it still further alarmed capital. Had the United States government been in receipt of surplus revenues, thus ena-

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bling it to draw from circulation every month some portion of the demand gold debt, this would have allayed alarm and inspired confidence, and the demand for gold would have been less urgent.

We have here, then, the two causes which are responsible for the drifting of the ship, for the lack of enterprise, for the stagnation in business, and for the failure of the United States to continue upon a career of progress.

First: By her silver legislation she has lost the confidence of capital throughout the world and also at home. Europe will no longer invest its surplus in our railway bonds, real estate, or other securities. On the contrary, it has drawn hundreds of millions of capital from investment here, thus draining the country of its gold. Capital at home is almost as timid. It will not invest gold dollars worth one hundred cents permanently as long as a section of the people threaten to repay in silver dollars worth one-half in the markets of the world.

Second: The country has been shaken by a violent change in its fiscal system, and duties upon imports no longer produce sufficient revenue, because duties have been lessened upon the luxuries of the rich, and the *ad valorem* system, substituted for the specific, opens the door so wide to frauds upon the revenue through under-valuations that the government does not receive more than two-thirds of the duties it pretends to levy.

There was probably never such a fraud perpetrated as the Wilson Tariff bill. It was proclaimed as a measure intended to relieve the masses of the poor from high duties. It did not reduce duties upon any article used by the poor, but it did reduce largely upon the luxuries of the rich. Thus stands the record.

Tariff duties as follows were collected in 1892 on foreign importations of the luxuries of the rich:

Wool manufactures	$32,293,600
Silk	16,965,637
Cotton	16,436,733
Flax manufactures	10,066,636
Glass and china	10,339,000
Wines, liquors, etc.	8,935,000
Tobacco and cigars	11,882,557

Here are $106,000,000 of revenue from seven classes of luxuries, and here are a few others which netted more than $8,000,000 additional: Jewelry, carriages, artificial flowers, clocks,

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brushes, paper, perfumeries, musical instruments, making $114,000,000 revenue collected from imports out of the total of $177,000,000. To reduce duties upon articles which are all luxuries of the rich, furnishing two-thirds of the whole tariff revenue, is the chief result of the Wilson act.

The statement cannot be disputed that these articles were not imported for the use of the masses of the people. With woollen manufactures, as those of silk, the masses of the people of the United States are supplied by the home manufacturer almost exclusively. The only class which uses imported cloths, and foreign glass and china, and foreign wines and tobacco, is the rich.

Our obvious need is not only to restore the former duties upon these articles, but to increase them, not as a protectionist measure, but strictly for revenue. The luxuries of the rich will be purchased almost to as great an extent under a higher as under a lower duty, for increased cost does not in a great measure affect their consumption. The rich may be trusted to continue to gratify their tastes and to follow fashion.

There is only one item in the above list that can be claimed to affect the masses of the people, viz., wool. Some low and cheap grades of woollens are still used to a small extent by the masses, but it can easily be arranged that upon these the duty shall not be increased. This done, $50,000,000 a year additional can readily be collected through the tariff upon luxuries, and not a working man be disadvantaged one cent. Thirty millions can readily be obtained by one dollar tax per barrel upon beer, which the consumer would not have to pay, but the precise mode of increasing the revenue is not important.

One point is certain, viz.: that no genuine national prosperity can be looked for until the revenues of the government are sufficient to meet its expenditures and leave a goodly surplus.

We know that the triumph of the Republican party will ensure this, and that with increased duties upon various articles more home-made products will be used, and hence more home labor employed. We also know that surplus revenues will tend to dispel alarm. Nothing more need be said upon this subject. But the ship of state will never sail to our satisfaction unless there also be such a change as will place the nation upon

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the highest standard of value, *gold*, as firmly and as free from doubt as Britain stands upon it. With no desire to pose as a prophet, but only to prove that the laws pertaining to money are so certain in their operation that the results of any policy concerning it can be unerringly predicted, I venture to quote from successive warnings given in the columns of this REVIEW, even from the time when the cloud seen in the sky was no bigger than a man's hand and comparatively few of our political leaders seemed aware of its dire significance.

Five years ago, in 1891, the danger of tampering with the standard of value seemed so great that I said :

"The New York *Evening Post* is a free-trade organ, but it has recently said that it would rather be the party to pass ten McKinley bills than one silver bill such as was urged; and I, a Republican and a believer in the wisdom of protection, tell you that I would rather give up the McKinley bill and pass the Mills bill, if for exchange I could have the present silver bill repealed and silver treated like other metals. In the next presidential campaign if I have to vote for a man in favor of silver and protection, or for a man in favor of the gold standard and a reduced tariff, I shall vote and work for the latter, because my judgment tells me that even the present tariff is not half so important for the good of the country as the maintenance of the highest standard for the money of the people."

Two years later, in 1893, President Cleveland was compelled to call an extra session of Congress in these startling words :

"Whereas, The distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation, which pervade all business circles, have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufactures, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor; and,

"Whereas, The present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the government finds embodied in unwise laws, which must be executed until repealed by Congress."

So much for the potency of the poison in our currency and the havoc it made in two short years. In September, 1893, in this REVIEW, I closed an article upon this momentous issue as follows :

"Should the country go further into the silver morass, then it may safely be predicted that all that has taken place to this date will be considered insignificant compared with the trouble yet to come. History teaches nothing more clearly than this—that no country can ever enjoy prosperity if, in regard to its standard of value, confidence is lost."

After this followed perhaps the most acute panic in our history, and the government was reduced to such straits that it has

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twice had to borrow in times of profound peace, and its credit, once the highest among nations, has fallen and remains below that of countries with hardly a tithe of its wealth or resources.

I have mentioned the matter of revenue first, only because it is so easily met and so certain to be rightly dealt with; but it is relatively unimportant compared with the change needed to maintain the standard of value.

Those who prescribe tariff changes as a cure for the deep seated malady which has poisoned the nation's currency—the life-blood of prosperity—remind us of the quack who vended pills to prevent earthquakes. The business men of the country understand this. President Roberts, of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the greatest of all organizations, recently spoke for them. The only thing necessary to produce prosperity, he said, was to cease the agitation for a change from the gold to the silver standard, and although it is true, as he said, "that the tariff could wait," revenue cannot. Without surplus revenue no improvement can come.

We may collect all the surplus revenue imaginable; may legislate in any and all directions upon other than the financial question, and all will be in vain. Capital from abroad will continue to avoid us and capital at home remain paralyzed; new enterprises will not be undertaken, labor will be poorly employed, wages fall, depression continue, with panic ever looming in the distance. As in 1891 and again in 1893 I predicted coming disaster, so to-day in 1896 I do not hesitate to foretell its continuance. Until we cease to threaten the gold standard under which the Republic has outsailed all others, national prosperity must remain a thing of the past, for until the standard of value is permanently settled nothing is settled. The ship of state must continue to drift.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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IMMIGRATION FROM ITALY.

BY DR. J. H. SENNER, U. S. COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

If the expressions of the press be any indication of public opinion, the heavy immigration from Italy during the last six weeks has irritated the American people to a great degree. The "Little Italy" of Ellis Island has enjoyed, from the pictorial standpoint, as well as from the reportorial and editorial ones, an unusual amount of attention, although it did not realize the sensational newspaper anticipations of riots, epidemics, wholesale escapes, fusilades, and similar occurrences. Innocent readers of our daily papers must have come to the conclusion that the immigration from Italy was not only unprecedented in numbers but also extraordinarily undesirable in character, and that therefore the most heroic measures were demanded by the public welfare. The assumed conditions, however, have differed widely from the real ones. To dispel the notion that this year's influx is unusually large, I need but refer to the facts that immigration from Italy to the United States amounted in the fiscal year 1887–8 to 47,622, in 1888–9 to 51,558, in 1889–90 to 52,003, in 1890–91 to 76,055, in 1891–2 to 61,631, in 1892–3 to 69,437, the largest part of which in each year was crowded into the spring months.

It is quite true that this year's immigration from Italy exceeds that of the two preceding fiscal years, 1893–4 and 1894–5, of 42,074 and 33,902, respectively; but during that period the tide of all commerce was exceptionally low and immigration was likewise naturally affected. These years cannot, therefore, properly be taken as a basis for comparisons. It is also true that since about the middle of March there have been detained at this port an unprecedented number of immigrants, either for special examination or for deportation, but this condition was not due to any unusual undesirability on the part of these immigrants, but

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solely to the strict enforcement of the latest law (of March 3, 1893), which made it the duty of the Inspectors of the Immigration Service to detain for special inquiry every immigrant who was not clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission. That it has been possible, with a very small force of available employees, to preserve order and peace to the fullest degree upon Ellis Island, although as many as 1,020 immigrants, of whom over 500 were sentenced to deportation, have been detained over night, is convincing proof at least of the fact that the Italians, who form the largest percentage of the detained, are by no means as unruly, violent, dangerous, or anarchistic as they have been assumed to be by the imaginative newsgatherers of the public press.

The Italians only, of all the Latin peoples, developed a tendency to migration almost equal to that of the Anglo-Saxons. The history of the peninsula for more than two thousand years past, with the enormous invasions of Germanic tribes, may perhaps furnish an explanation of this phenomenon. Emigration of Italians to the Western Continent on a larger scale only became possible with the great development of oceanic steamship service in the last few decades, and until a very recent date such immigration into the United States was very much smaller than that into the southern part of the Western Continent, especially the Argentine Republic. But while the tendeney to migration may be inborn in nations, it can never come into practical operation but by urgent reasons based upon political or commercial conditions. Poor Italy had suffered perpetually from misrule and bloody wars and consequent commercial depression. United Italy, only a little more than a quarter of a century in existence, could not as yet succeed in securing safety, peace, and welfare to her subjects. Unsettled in her finances, under the bane of a violent conflict with her church, with the pretensions of a great power, but without means to bear the burdens of her ambition, she furnished the basis of a large emigration. Her government, absolutely unable to offset the disturbances of the political and financial welfare of her subjects, refrained from opposing such emigration, and has even seemingly favored it.

For a good many years this policy of the Italian Government seemed to produce advantageous results to the prosperity of Italy. As long as the migration to and fro was entirely unrestricted, Italians in large numbers were in the habit of crossing

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and recrossing the ocean, some as many as ten times, as so-called "birds of passage," and taking out of the United States, or other countries of America, the gains which their standard of living, far below that of an American wage earner, made it easy for them to accumulate. The amount of money annually sent home by Italian laborers or taken back by them has been conservatively estimated at from $4,000,000 to even $30,000,000. Commissioner-General Stump observed, during his trip abroad as Chairman of the Immigration Investigating Commission, that "the marked increase in the wealth of certain sections of Italy can be traced directly to the money earned in the United States." But these advantages to the old country are about to cease definitely. The rigid enforcement of the Federal statutes since 1893 by the United States Immigration Officials has made it very hard for Italian "birds of passage" to come and go at their pleasure. Besides, quite a large proportion of those who originally came to the United States with no intention of acquiring residence, found the country so advantageous and congenial to them that they changed their minds, sent for their families and settled permanently within the United States, acquiring, in time, rights of citizenship.

Italian immigrants, even in the first generation, succumb sooner or later, like those of other European nationalities, to the irresistible influence of freedom and prosperity; while in the second generation, as a rule, and in the third invariably, they become thoroughly Americanized.

The eleventh census of 1890 gives the number of foreign born Italians living in the United States as 182,580. According to the statistics of immigration the total number of immigrants from Italy from 1873 to 1890 amounted to not less than 356,062,* which clearly shows how large the migratory movement must have been at that time, since the number who arrived during the eighteen years prior to 1890 was nearly twice as large as the number of foreign born Italians living in the United States on the 1st of June, 1890.

* The absolute unreliability of old statistics as to all, and especially Italian, immigration is best shown by the fact that while the official statistics (Report of the Superintendent of Immigration for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892), represent the total Italian immigration from 1873 to 1890 as 356,062, the same official report (pp. 14, 15, etc.) states the number of Italian immigrants from 1881 to 1889 as 307,309, which figure would increase the total for 1873 to 1890 by not less than 52,012. Nevertheless, it has always been these same statistics on which our legislators as well as scientists have based their conclusions.

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It was only about the 1st of July, 1893, that, finding such a marked discrepancy between the statistics of the Immigration Service and the United States census of 1890, I directed the statisticians at Ellis Island, thenceforth, to specify accurately as to every immigrant whether or not he had been in the United States before. The result clearly demonstrated that about 20 per cent. of the Italians arriving at this port had been previously in the United States, and therefore could not properly be counted again as immigrants. Of the 94,700 Italians landed in New York from the 1st of July, 1893, to the end of 1895, no less than 21,692 had been in the United States before. It is a remarkable fact that the percentage of returning immigrants to the total immigration is almost continually on the increase. Of 15,706 arrivals from July 1 to December 31, 1893, those returning numbered only 2,011 ; of 10,355 for the same period in 1894, 2,196 ; while of the 18,724 who arrived during the same months of 1895, 4,190 had been here before.

That Italian immigrants are abandoning their habit of migration to and fro, and are inclining more and more to definite settlement in this country, is further proved by the following facts. Of the total Italian immigration from 1881 to 1889, amounting to 307,309 (according to the report of Superintendent Owen for the year 1892) only 63,386, or 20.6 per cent., were females, and 47,063, or 15.3 per cent., were under fifteen years of age. In the fiscal year 1893–4, the proportion of females to the total Italian immigration rose to 24.12 per cent., and of children under fifteen years of age to 16.08 per cent. The year 1894–5 shows 27.42 per cent. females and 17.4 per cent. children. The period from July 1, 1895, to the 1st of April, 1896 (the statistics for April not being complete at the time of this writing), shows not less than 30.2 per cent. of females and 19.42 per cent. of children under fifteen years of age. The increasing tendency of Italian immigrants to definite settlement is furthermore proved by the systematic statistics kept at the port of New York since the 1st of July, 1893, as to the number of persons who arrived here to join members of their immediate families; only parents, children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters are included in these statistics, while more distant relatives or connections, such as uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, are not considered. Only the reunions of temporarily

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separated families are placed in this category. Congress cannot justly undertake to force out of this country aliens who have legitimately settled in it, or to prevent their immediate families, unless objectionable *per se*, from joining them in this country.

The statistics carefully prepared at this station reveal the astonishing fact that, of some 94,700 Italians who arrived at this port from July 1, 1893, to the end of December, 1895, no less than 33,625 came to join members of their immediate families. If we add this number to the 21,692 above mentioned who had been in the United States before, we get a total of 55,317, or 58 per cent. of the total Italian immigration, leaving but 39,383 immigrants proper. During the same period of two and a half years, as I have reliably ascertained from the steamship companies, no less than 62,678 persons, almost exclusively alien residents, left the United States in the steerage for Italian ports. Thus, practically, the number of outgoing Italians exceeded the number of new arrivals by more than 25,000 in the time prior to the alleged extraordinary and appalling recent rush of immigrants from Italy.

Let us now look at the actual figures in respect to this immigration. Since the 1st of January, 1896, there have arrived at New York, which is the principal port of entry for Italians:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
January	1,316	666	1,982
February	999	645	1,644
March	7,882	1,436	9,320
April	12,016	2,187	14,203

An analysis of these figures, dividing them into the two categories mentioned above—(1) Those who had been in the United States before; and (2) those who came to join their immediate families—furnishes the following interesting results:

1896.	Total Italian immigration.	In U. S. before.	Joining immediate families.	Balance.
January	1,982	359	705	918
February	1,644	611	937	96
March	9,320	2,445	2,033	4,842
April	14,203	3,533	3,291	7,379
Total	27,149	6,948	6,966	13,235

In the face of this petty aggregate, which is less than one half of the excess of the Italian exodus from this country during the preceding two and a half years, it is assumed that the great United States of America, with a population of about 70,000,000,

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are forced to heroic preventive measures! *Tant de bruit pour une omelette!*

There is no likelihood whatever of any considerable increase in these figures during the current fiscal year or even at any later period. In fact, before these words appear in print, the spring immigration of 1896 will have been finished, and I do not hesitate to predict, as to the future, that the very faithful enforcement of the law, during this season of Italian immigration, will produce all the desired effects. If, in addition to the present law, a moderate educational test should be introduced by Congress, even the remotest apprehension of danger from Italian immigration would be forever removed, so long as the enforcement of our immigration laws keeps pace with their letter and spirit. I may be pardoned for here repeating what is a matter of record in the report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, of which I am a member, that I am most heartily in favor of a reasonable and practicable educational test for male immigrants over 16 years of age, excepting those who come here to join their immediate families. I do not share the apprehensions of the distinguished and learned Senator from Massachusetts, who is at present Chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, that "a great, a perilous change in the very fabric of our race" is impending from further immigration. The evil done in that direction, prior to the law of 1893 and its strict enforcement under the present administration, can, of course, never be undone; the nation can now secure self-protection from the effects of the heterogeneous influx during fifteen years prior to 1893 only by a wholesome restriction of the privilege of naturalization. But I can safely say that since the enactment of the law of 1893 no substantial number of undesirable immigrants have been permitted to enter the United States, and that our public charitable and penal institutions have not been materially burdened with the care of such immigrations. It is well known that our immigration laws offer the fullest opportunity to any community or public institution burdened with immigrants who have become public charges within one year after landing, to rid themselves of them. If an immigrant become a public charge from causes prior to landing, the steamship companies are compelled to deport him; and the immigrant fund bears the expense of transportation in all cases where the perma-

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nent inability to earn a living arose after the time of landing. Notwithstanding the fact that these laws and regulations have been made more widely known all over the country during the last three years than ever before, the number of persons returned within one year after landing as public charges decreased from 637, in the fiscal year 1892, to 577 in 1893, 417 in 1894, and 177 in 1895. This is self-evident proof of the increasing efficiency of the immigration service in preventing from year to year undesirable immigrants from landing.

Those landed were most likely to assimilate quickly to the American people and their national institutions. Indeed serious consideration of the ability of immigrants to assimilate readily has been always predominant with the Board of Special Inquiry, under my supervision at Ellis Island. The likelihood of assimilation necessarily constitutes an important factor, in the decision by such a Board, of an immigrant's eligibility to land on our shores, and this likelihood is judged in the light of the comparative readiness, as shown by experience, with which immigrants from the various foreign countries assume the duties of citizenship and acquire the English tongue.

Illiteracy, though at present no specific reason for excluding an immigrant, is nevertheless carefully considered as a factor in all cases; although it should be stated that some of the most objectionable immigrants have been persons well able to read and write. My principal reason for favoring a moderate educational test is the obvious fact that illiteracy is invariably coupled with a low standard of living which leads to a lowering of wages.

The common opinion as to the inability of Italian immigrants to assimilate is, I am frank to state, not shared by me. It must be admitted that Italians who come over in mature years, without education even in their own language, and during their sojourn in the United States move almost exclusively among their countrymen, find it exceedingly difficult to acquire even the rudiments of the national language; but such is the common experience with most other non-English speaking immigrants as well. On the other hand, we find that an Italian who has come here younger in years, or who has received a good education, becomes speedily a thorough American, even if his occupation brings him into contact mostly with his own countrymen. And children born in this country of Italian parents can scarcely be distinguished

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by their speech or their habits from the children of native Americans. The public schools of New York bear testimony to this statement. The Rev. Bonaventure Piscopo, of the Church of the Most Precious Blood (the largest Italian Roman Catholic Parish in the City of New York), is my authority for the statement that all the Italian priests, in their religious services, their Sunday schools, and even in their confessionals, are obliged to use the English if they hope to be understood at all by the second generation. The same priest related to me the story of a boy of eighteen, born in Italy, but brought to this country when fourteen months of age, by the name of Gian-Battista Foppiano, whose parents left Boston some years ago to return to their native town, Ciccagna, in the province of Genoa. The lad entreated his parents in vain to return to America. He also wrote most urgent and pathetic letters to some of his boy companions in America to send him money. They did so, and he tried to return to the United States against the will of his parents, but did not succeed. The poor boy became so homesick for the United States that he fell into melancholy, and can now be seen in the insane asylum of Genoa, longing for the United States. If this pathetic story cannot be taken as proof of the devotion of all young Italians to this country, it at least illustrates how erroneous are the sweeping assertions sometimes made to the contrary.

It would be an easy thing, of course, to exclude all migration from Italy by the enactment of restrictive measures which would be substantially prohibitory; but the quality of such statesmanship may well be seriously doubted. Despots indulge in radical measures, without regard to consequences, and with no other consideration than their own personal pleasure and comfort. Patriotic statesmen, on the other hand, must not hesitate to face every problem, to study it carefully and to try to find the best possible solution. The United States of America are, in my sincere conviction, not yet ripe, and will not be for a long period of years, to exclude any immigrants who are not really undesirable. The Immigration Investigating Commission very properly said in their report that an entire closing of our ports to immigrants would inevitably result in untold injury to, if not in the very annihilation of, our largest transportation and manufacturing enterprises, in a disastrous stoppage in the development of great sections of the country and in a famine of

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servants and menial laborers. Italians, as a nationality, certainly do not belong *per se* to an undesirable class of immigrants. There are vast regions in the South and West and on the Pacific coast for the colonization of which they are unquestionably and pre-eminently adapted, and as manual laborers for many varieties of work which Anglo-Saxons are very loth to undertake they are beyond a doubt excellently fitted.

If they are hired out in large masses by unscrupulous padrones, let the padrone system be fought and suppressed. If they are uneducated, let our public schools take care of them. If some are afraid of their voting power, on account of their ignorance—an assumption, by the way, which is rather curious in a country with millions of negro voters—let the United States restrict their naturalization. If we do not want to receive absolute illiterates, let us exclude them by a reasonable test, but without separating families, parts of which may be already here. Let us in general exclude all undesirables, whether they are of Italian or any other nationality, but let us beware, most of all, of dangerous and thoughtless generalities which are based only on the ignorance of facts.

Since I became acquainted more fully with the many questions pertaining to immigration by actual and practical experience at this most important port of the United States, I have come to the conclusion that the final solution of the "immigration problem" is not to be found in the application to immigrants of any additional test of eligibility, but in a wise distribution of the desirable immigrants among the localities where they are especially needed and their employment in the kinds of work for which they are peculiarly fitted. A National Land and Labor Clearing House, to be established in connection with the great immigrant station at Ellis Island, with branches at the other stations, would, in my opinion, if properly conducted, prevent all possible dangers from immigration, and at the same time give this great nation all the benefits for the future which it has unquestionably derived from immigration in the past. The adoption of such a plan would also solve once for all the problem as to the immigration from Italy.

J. H. SENNER.

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POLICY AND POWER OF THE A. P. A.

BY W. J. H. TRAYNOR, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

THE American Protective Association, or as it is more generally known, the A. P. A., is now in the tenth year of its existence. No organization in the history of the American Republic ever had so spontaneous a birth, so remarkable a career, so radical an effect upon American politics, or has been the subject of such general interest and friendly and adverse comment as this association, while no institution has been so widely misrepresented or misunderstood.

The American Protective Association is neither a religious body nor an institution adverse to the religion, *per se*, of any person, sect, or faith. It was organized neither to oppose the religious dogmas of any ecclesiastical corporation, nor to direct, dissect, maintain, or destroy theology, old or new. While I am fully aware that the opponents of the association, and those who, though not opposing, are uninformed, assert to the contrary, and while I am also aware that the indiscreet expressions of individual members of the order here and there have occasionally given color to such assertions, the constitution of the association does not, nor does the ritual nor secret work of the organization, warrant any such conception of the purposes of the order or any such construction of its principles.

Whether legitimately, as its advocates claim, or illegitimately, as its enemies maintain, the A. P. A. was the child of the conditions which conceived it, and not even the most antagonistic casuist will argue, in the face of philosophy and history, that so great a political revolution as that which the organization has accomplished within the short space of nine years was the absolute offspring either of religious bigotry or ignorance, though,

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doubtless, like all revolutions, tinctured by the one and impeded by the other. Though cranks and bigots may combine and cause infinite mischief locally for a short time, they do not affect an entire nation nor leave their imprint upon national politics and legislation in the degree which the A. P. A. has done in its brief existence. This much at least must be conceded even by the opponents of the association.

It would be superfluous to introduce into an article of this kind the specific reasons leading up to the founding of the order, more especially as they have been discussed at some length in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of July, 1894, and again in August, 1895—or to introduce arguments *pro* or *con*. The reasons advanced by the founders of the order for its institution were based, practically, upon the following grounds:

I. That the spirit of the National Constitution was being violated in various ways by certain persons and bodies in the United States.

II. That certain members and sections of the national government were in connivance with the said violators.

III. That the conditions governing our national immigration were such as to weaken our democratic institutions and form of government and to substitute therefor a system of government not in harmony therewith.

IV. That the immigrant vote, under the direction of certain ecclesiastical institutions, had become so dominant a factor in politics as to virtually control it.

V. That this domination had resulted in political prostitution, corruption, and favoritism of the worst kind.

VI. That the great majority of the American people, while painfully cognizant of the sinister and debasing results of these conditions, and desirous of amending them, were either ignorant of any efficient means of counter-organization, or fearful of the injury to their personal interests at the hands of their powerful and organized opponents.

The current history of the period to which I refer must answer the question whether the projectors of the American Protective Association were right or wrong in their assumptions.

Although, in effect, the efforts of the organization were directed against an institution nominally theological, they were intended to antagonize only those sections of the institution which

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were political as well as theological, or subversive of the principles of the National Constitution and the laws and statutes of the land. Nor was the association formed for the mere purpose of combating what its founders considered the unpatriotic attitude and politically demoralizing influences of any one or more theological bodies in particular, but rather to erase from our national statutes all legislation which had been enacted in opposition to the constitution, and to erect a barrier of legislative enactments between the church and the state that should be eternal, and prevent a recurrence of those conditions which, at that period, threatened to exalt the *ipse dixit* of the ecclesiast above the sovereign will of the people, and render the state subservient to the interests, will, and caprice of the church. The A. P. A., then, was founded, not as an organization specifically hostile to any existent institution, but rather as the exponent and champion of a principle to be maintained against all antagonistic influences, existent or prospective, whatsoever.

While there existed, and still exist, several religious sects whose principles materially conflict with the principles enunciated in the National Constitution, and which, if permitted to obtain, would result in a union of church and state, with the church the dictator, it is not strange that the founders of the A. P. A. should have selected that sect as the special object of their antagonism whose past record was least reconcilable to American conditions, and which most strongly indicated through the authoritative past and current utterances of its representatives, an intention to pursue in the future that policy which had been so subversive of liberty of conscience and person in other days, and whose strength, organization, and ability of self-assertion rendered it the most dangerous to that sovereignty of the people which the signers of the Declaration of Independence endeavored to secure and perpetuate.

It has been asserted that the American Protective Association was a mere side issue of the Loyal Orange Institution. The assertion is incorrect. The founders of the association were all non-Orangemen save one, and without exception citizens of the United States, and with only one or two exceptions native born. The immense growth of the order, from efforts that were comparatively insignificant, indicated that, while not openly expressed or practically demonstrated before, the sentiments of a

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large portion of the thinking public were identical with those expressed in the principles of the organization. For the first two or three years the growth of the order was practically spontaneous, indicating that the movement was neither a craze nor the conception of cranks, but the spark of consequences which fired a train of circumstances laid by corrupt legislators and self-seeking ecclesiasts and their adherents through a course of many years. It is not surprising that a sect so tenacious of its principles, the assumed rights of its head and the antiquity of its institutions, as the Papists of the United States, were in no mood to brook any abridgment of the privileges which the perfection of their political organization had secured to them, more particularly as they (the Irish Papists especially) had been the dominant and courted element in the politics and government of the nation for many years. Their reprisals for the political opposition of the A. P. A. took the form of the deadly boycott, politically, personally, socially, and in business. This boycott was prosecuted all the more harshly from the fact that the boycotters were composed for the greater part of the most illiterate elements of the nation. Nearly every member of the A. P. A. who made himself prominent in the movement retired absolutely ruined in politics and purse, and while hundreds of thousands sympathized and accorded to the order their passive support, only a small percentage dared brave the storm of disaster that inevitably followed membership in the order. These conditions led to the enforcement of absolute secrecy both as to membership and place of meeting, but to no purpose. The daily press, which was almost unanimously adverse to the movement, took special pains to hold the order up to public odium, and to publish its membership, while the two dominant parties used every effort to crush an organization which it soon became palpable to both they could not use without seriously disarranging their own political machinery. This was the period of guerrilla warfare, when the order was too weak to meet the forces of their opponents openly in the field of politics without the certainty of defeat. It was also the period when the acts of the order were almost entirely defensive and absolutely negative.

Following this came the period of construction and organization, when the administration of the order applied itself to the adjustment of its political machinery, and its agents began to

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make the principles of the organization known through many states. In a large number of our important cities the seed thus sown produced great results, and councils numbering as high as 3,000 in membership were to be found in such cities as Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Cleveland, etc. Then followed a series of sharp, decisive political victories for the order, which surprised the oldest of political campaigners. I do not wish to be understood that the nominees of the order were generally elected; on the contrary, there were few politicians who could afford to go upon record as the candidates of, or who were acceptable to, the order, which pursued its negative policy, using its influence against the candidate with a bad political record, leaving his opponents to scramble for office among themselves; and, in this regard, it is doing the organization but simple justice to state that the Protestant candidate whose political record was bad fared no better than a Papist of the same stripe. The result, however, was undeniably creditable both to the order and to politics generally, and undoubtedly served to elevate the standard of the latter. At this time the organization had little or no following in the South, and as the Democratic party in the North was too closely affiliated with the Papist vote, the result was that the majority of the nominees of the association were nominally Republican, Prohibition, or Populist, although numberless instances might be cited where worthy Democrats were singled out of a slate that was unworthy as a whole, and elected to offices of trust by the enormous majorities which the A. P. A. vote gave.

Although between the years 1890 and 1893, the initiated membership of the order never exceeded 70,000, and was scattered but sparsely through less than twenty states, it was a period of undoubted health and usefulness from the fact that affiliation with the order was rather a disadvantage than an advantage, as it attracted to its ranks the disinterested almost exclusively. The year 1893, however, showed such remarkable success for the order in the political field that the conditions changed and the ambitious politician suddenly awoke to the realization that baptism in A. P. A. water was attended with pleasant and profitable political consequences. Of these the earnest were, for the greater part, accepted; the unworthy were rejected to a large extent, but many found their way into the order through the carelessness of investigating committees.

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In the two years that followed, the order planted itself firmly in every State and Territory in the Union and was instrumental in overturning the entire political machinery in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Iowa, and of California, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Washington, and Oregon, in part. With these victories commenced a general policy of active aggression and the negative tactics of the organization were practically abandoned. This, in my opinion, was a departure fraught with much danger, involving, as it necessarily must, entangling alliances with parties and political rings, and tending to destroy that political independence, without which the order must inevitably gravitate into the arms of one or other of the old parties and become absorbed. Fortunately the change brought its own rebuke, with sufficient force to demonstrate the danger of the departure as a general policy, a rebuke which the ingratitude of the old parties was mainly instrumental in administering. Party candidates, elected almost entirely through the efforts of the order, in many cases either repudiated their pledges or evaded them, and the experience, although bitter, was a most salutary one to the organization, which has wisely learned to distrust the pledges of those who do not possess the moral courage to make them openly or before the altars of the order.

The opening of the Fifty-fourth Congress demonstrated the power of the Organization in the political field as no event had previously done. Nearly one hundred members of the House of Representatives were elected to office, pledged to support the platform of the order, either as a whole or in part, while several members of the Senate were elected under similar conditions. It would be as unfair as it is untrue to assert that the great majority of these were honestly the friends of the American Protective Association or imbued with the principles of the organization. On the contrary, I am bound to admit, even although their subsequent conduct had not plainly revealed the fact, that many accepted A. P. A. principles as a means to the end of obtaining A. P. A. votes, and lost no time in repudiating the principles when their political interests suggested the repudiation. I am bound also to admit that, excepting a score or so of the members of the order, who now occupy seats in Congress, the representatives of that organization in that body are among the weakest and

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least reliable members of the order. While I do not impugn the personal honor of these, their political good faith is certainly open to question, nor could any other result be expected when the governing conditions are examined. In no instance was a representative elected as an A. P. A. He was placed in office as a member of one or other of the existent political parties. Hence, he primarily was a member of the political party with which he was affiliated, and only secondarily a member of the organization, whose platform was considered injudicious even if not politically pernicious by all parties who were compelled to cater, more or less, to the "Catholic vote." Thus he stood in the position of a man with two masters, the one promising material, the other moral, rewards, the one threatening material, the other moral, punishments. While it is eminently to the credit of those who have maintained their obligations to the order entire, it must be confessed that the laxity of some of the political committees of the order, and the strong spirit of partyism which has prevailed in some sections, are to blame that all our representatives in the national Legislature are not primarily and entirely members of our order both nominally and practically. The aphorism that half a loaf is better than no bread has exercised a most pernicious and enervating influence upon the organization in many sections, pernicious because it has paved the way for compromises with those acts of the old parties which the order was organized most strenuously to resist; and enervating because it leads to the suggestion that the least of two evils is in itself good.

It should have been the unfaltering policy of all the political heads and boards of the association to maintain the position of endorsing no political candidate who was unprepared to pledge himself openly to the principles of the order, and, as an alternative, to place an independent candidate in the field, even in the face of inevitable defeat—defeat under such conditions being infinitely preferable to a victory so questionable, and involving such serious consequences to the order as in many cases it has.

While such mistakes perpetuated would have inevitably brought the career of the association to a sudden and inglorious close, they have more than served the purpose of awakening its membership to a realization of the extreme danger of a policy of compromise, in which the A. P. A. was so dominant before and so insignificant after election.

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Except in a few sections where, from strong party affection, or other causes less honorable, party considerations have practically converted the order into party rings, the members of the organization have set their faces against such combinations, and, although a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat or Republican who is a stronger partisan than he is an A. P. A. may be found here and there in the order, the fact is due to one of two reasons: he either receives, or expects to receive, pecuniary equivalents for his loyalty, or else is in the order for the mere purpose of destroying it.

Much has been written of late regarding the action of the National Advisory Board of the order and the postulants for the Presidency of the United States, which has tended to mislead the public and to create the impression, even among some of the members of the order, that the supreme body had set itself up as the guardian of and dictator to the membership at large. Many of the daily newspapers have even asserted that the Executive Committee of the Advisory Board had issued a mandate for the slaughter of McKinley in the interest of Reed and Morton or Platt. Even were it true that the committee possessed such power, it is not the less true that any administration of the A. P. A., or any officer or board thereof, who were so imprudent as to issue a mandate or advisory circular advocating the support of any Presidential nominee who had not previously and uncompromisingly subscribed to the principles of the American Protective Association would find themselves in the position of a government without a people. Bradley and Linton are the only candidates who are to be considered as entirely unobjectionable to the order, but the utmost that the National Advisory or any other board or officer has the power to do is to advise, and even this advisory power is subject to the approval of the Supreme Council in session. The A. P. A. is a government of the people pure and simple, a government wherein the officers and boards are the mere servants and executors of the mandates of their electors, and the agents of political aspirants and party rings will save themselves countless money and much time who early realize the fact that no one member of the organization can deliver to any candidate more than one vote—his own—no matter whether he be private or officer, the chief of a board, or the Supreme President himself. The constitution

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was framed to keep the order free from those evils which have made the old parties insufferable; the moment this safeguard is broken down and the power is placed in the hands of any one man to deliver the votes of the order to any one person, party, or interest, the dissolution of the organization will have commenced.

The American Protective Association is the strongest and purest political force that the Western world ever knew. It grew from the parent stem of pure motives and patriotism. I have taken pains to point out its weaknesses and have dwelt but briefly upon its many merits. It is intensely human and, therefore, very imperfect, yet imperfect as it is there is nothing like it in the world. It holds the political balance of power in the United States, with its membership of nearly 2,500,000 persons, who influence at least 4,000,000 votes.

Finally it should not be forgotten that ninety-five per cent. of the members of the order are Americans first, A. P. A.'s next, and elements of party last of all; and that, should the old parties refuse to publicly recognize and endorse the essential principles of the order, an independent Presidential candidate is not only a possibility but an absolute certainty, even though such a course should lead to the defeat of the dominant political party and the organization itself.

W. J. H. TRAYNOR.

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HOW TO ARREST THE INCREASE OF HOMICIDES IN AMERICA.

BY THE HON. I. C. PARKER, JUDGE OF THE U. S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS.

It must be conceded that we are in a peculiar condition in this nation to-day—in such a condition that, in my judgment, one of the greatest problems which have ever presented themselves to the minds of the people is confronting us. That problem is whether crime, and especially crime which destroys innocent human life, shall be triumphant; whether the man of blood, the man of vicious disposition, the man who destroys human life, shall be the despotic ruler, or whether the law of the land shall exert its peaceful sway, and by its protecting power secure all men in their lives under their own roof-tree or wherever they may be. It is a great problem. It is one which is exciting the interest of all good men in the land. We find the great educators of the people, the newspapers of the country, have discovered the evil and are agitating the method of finding a remedy. We find the matter discussed in the law journals of the nation, in the lectures of judges, in statements by professors of colleges, and we find it presented in the most forcible way from the pulpits of the land.

When we go to facts, we find that during the last six years there have been 43,902 homicides in the United States, an average of 7,317 per year. In the same time there have been 723 legal executions and 1,118 lynchings. These startling figures show that crime is rapidly increasing instead of diminishing. In the last year 10,500 persons were killed, or at the rate of 875 per month, whereas in 1890 there were only 4,290, or less than half as many as in 1895. This bloody record shows a fearful

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increase of the crime which destroys human life. We are all alike anxious for a remedy, but before we can obtain one we must know the cause. We can easily recognize that the greatest evil of any civilized age is confronting us, not only in the shape of crimes committed by individuals, but also of crimes committed by masses of men who are endeavoring by bloody and improper means to seek a remedy—I mean those who band themselves together as mobs to seek that protection which they fail to obtain under the forms of law.

What are the causes of this fearful condition? It can not be because either in the states or nation we have a defective system of laws, because almost every violation of a human right which is serious in its nature is declared a crime and is punished by the laws of the states or the nation. In fact, it may be said that we have the most magnificent system of laws defining crimes.

Judge Elliot Anthony, President of the Illinois State Bar Association, at its Eighteenth Annual Meeting, held January 24, 1895, at Springfield, Ill., when speaking along this line, said:

"There is no subject at the present time before the American people of such transcendent importance as that of the administration of the criminal law. It is as a general rule the least studied and the least understood by our judges of any branches of the law. Many, up to the time of their accession to the bench, never tried a criminal case in a court of record, and, consequently, they have no appreciation whatever of the fine points of the law or what is required by the Supreme Court to sustain a verdict in a case when it has once been obtained, and, what is worse, they do not study to master the subject.

"Our methods of criminal procedure are vicious, and our criminal practice still worse.

"The rights of the defendant are regarded as supreme, while those of the public are almost entirely disregarded and ignored. . . .

"The history of crime is interwoven to a greater or less extent with every government, and will always be the most momentous question with which the human race has to deal. It is the great problem of civilization.

"He who has not thought upon it has thought little about humanity, and he who has not paid some attention to the criminal law of his country has not received a liberal education.

"It ought to be administered with intelligence and enlightenment, but it is not. The great effort seems to be to involve every investigation of crime in a network of subtleties, artificial distinctions, and downright quibbles, shut out all the incriminating evidence possible, then decide the case on some technicality.

"There is dissatisfaction everywhere throughout the country in regard to the methods adopted and the course pursued by our courts in dealing with the violators of the law, and it is but little wonder that the people in

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some of the oldest portions of the Republic have at times become exasperated at the trifling and juggling which are allowed, and have wreaked summary vengeance on thugs and assassins, to the disgrace of civilization and the age in which we live.

"Public rights seem to be held in much lower estimation than private rights, and as between the living and the dead there is no equality whatever."

The truth about it is, for some reason or another, and the reason to my mind is manifest, the administration of the law affecting the civil rights of the citizen, his property rights growing out of controversies between man and man upon contracts, has come to be regarded as of much more importance than the enforcement of the law which protects the life of the citizen. All can notice that. The criminal law and its administration has rather fallen into disgrace. That is especially true of the large cities of the country. All must agree it is more important to protect a man's life than it is his property. If the man's life is destroyed, if the assassin fires into his house and takes away his life, is that not a greater deprivation than to deprive him of his horse or his cow, or even of all the other property which he possesses? Now, why is this the case? It is largely because of the corrupt methods resorted to to defeat the law's administration, and because courts of justice look to the shadow in the shape of technicalities rather than to the substance in the shape of crime.

In 1889 David Dudley Field, in addressing the American Bar Association, of which he was the president, said:

"We are a boastful people; we make no end of saying what great things we have done and are doing; and yet, behind these brilliant shows, there stands a spectre of halting justice, such as is to be seen in no other part of Christendom. So far as I am aware, there is no other country calling itself civilized, where it is so difficult to convict and punish a criminal, and where it takes so many years to get a final decision between man and man. Truly we may say that justice passes through the land on leaden sandals.

"The judges of the Supreme Court have it in their power to establish by their decisions such a body of criminal law as they see fit. They are hampered very little by statutes and none whatever in regard to the determination of the guilt or innocence of the accused. To build up and establish an arbitrary system of rules and regulations is not the true object and aim of an enlightened judiciary.

"What society demands and common sense demands is this: If a man is charged with a crime, then the question should be, is he innocent or guilty? not did the judge err when he told the jury that they must be 'satisfied' of the guilt of the accused, instead of 'believe' him guilty, after a full consideration of all the evidence."

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Now, the condition is so serious—and it is growing more so all the time—that there must be some remedy. It is true that the people may live under the government of one party or the other; they may live whether we have a single or double monetary standard; they may live with a high tariff, or low tariff, or no tariff at all; but they cannot live and prosper with crime in the ascendant, and with the man of crime as the despotic ruler. The country cannot survive a demoralized people swayed and dominated by the man of crime. Its people must have some way by which they can secure the blessings, in the shape of protection to life and property, arising alone from the entire supremacy of the civil law of the land. This can be obtained only in the courts of the country where a full, fair, impartial, and rapid vindication of the law by the honest people of the land can be had.

The cause of this condition springs in part from a morbid, diseased public sentiment, which begets undue sympathy for the criminal, and has none whatever for his murdered victim. It grows out of the indifference of the people to the enforcement of the criminal law. It arises from corrupt verdicts begotten by frauds and perjuries. It arises from the undue exercise of influence, either monetary, social, or otherwise, so that juries are carried away from the line of duty. It is often brought into existence by the indifference and negligence of trial courts, for it cannot be said that courts have done their duty when so many murderers escape. To the dereliction of appellate courts this relic of barbarism, the mob, can be largely attributed. To their action, as a rule, may we look for the source of this revolting method of undertaking to secure protection. In fact, the greatest cause of the increase of crime is the action of the appellate courts, which very largely exist in order to consider and act on alleged flaws in the records of the trial tribunals. They make most strenuous efforts, as a rule, to see not when they can affirm but when they can reverse a case. Their conduct encourages the legal practice that is altogether in the interest of the man of crime.

Some attribute this condition to the jury system, and they therefore advocate its abolition. This, in my judgment, is not a correct conclusion. I would not abate one jot or tittle of the importance and dignity of this great right of trial by jury, for it

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is a cherished right which is guaranteed to us by the constitution and laws of the land. It is an historical and essential part of the free institutions of this country. It is the very bulwark of liberty in this land. It naturally springs out of our institutions. It tends to support and perpetuate them. It teaches love of liberty regulated by law. It teaches a reverence for and obedience to the constitution and laws. It is the source of our greatest peace and the foundation of our hopes for the future. The jury represent the great majesty of the people, the mighty power of the law. But to do this they must by their action speak with the voice of truth. To do this they must be guided by courts honest and brave enough to stand by the law and its enforcement. When the juries are thus guided, in a majority of cases they render that justice which is the great standing pillar of civil society. They teach an object lesson of the most important character to the bad, the vicious, and the criminal. They give these to understand that they have the power of the law and its enforcement to overcome if they commit crime. To the good and peaceable and law-abiding they teach that they can depend upon the law for protection and security.

It is manifest that appellate courts can know nothing of the real trial as it did occur, yet they are not deterred from granting new trials and practically co-operating with unscrupulous attorneys for the escape of men guilty of the most wicked murders. Appellate courts too frequently seem to think that superior knowledge of the law is shown not by affirming the action of the trial court, but by standing in antagonism to it, and by criticising its action. It is like the case of the bold, open critic, who frequently gets credit for superior knowledge by the audacity of his criticism, when in fact he knows nothing of the subject. Appellate courts are very often made up of men wanting in knowledge of the most elementary principles of the criminal law, for they have never either studied or practiced it. With this want of knowledge of the very law they are seeking to administer, they try the case, not on its merits to determine the guilt or innocence of the man, but they try it by some technical rule which has really no relation to the guilt or innocence of the accused.

If we are to seek protection under the law against crime we must fully endorse the sentiment expressed by Mr. Justice

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Brewer, made recently in a speech by him before the American Bar Association, where he said:

> "I say it with reluctance, but the truth is, you may trust the jury to do justice to the accused with more safety than you can the appellate court to secure protection to the public by the speedy punishment of a criminal."

The action of appellate courts upon cases where crimes have been committed is, in my judgment, of all others the most fruitful cause of the increase of crime. It it is not so much the severity of punishment as it is its certainty which is effective. Let capture be sure and punishment certain, and crime is in a measure destroyed.

What, then, is the remedy? How can we correct this condition of blood? It must be corrected, for if not the man of crime will soon be in the ascendant. To correct this awful condition the press of the nation must exert its power, the courts and statesmen and the pulpit must all combine to build up a strong, active, aggressive, public sentiment favoring the supremacy under all circumstances of the law, its vigorous and speedy administration, with a view to ascertaining guilt or innocence, and punishing the one tainted with guilt, and protecting the one who is innocent. The rights affected by the man of crime being the most important and the most sacred of all others, this issue of protection to life should be paramount to all other issues, should be the chief one of the hour. A plank should be placed in the platform of the great national parties speaking in unmistakable tones in favor of the vigorous enforcement of the law, the suppression of crime, and the extinction of the mob—this disgrace of our Christianity and our civilization. The people should be awakened, and the drawn sword of justice should be in the hands of every honest citizen whether called to the jury box or only exerting an influence for peace, law, and order as a citizen.

To destroy the greatest of all promoters of crime, I would remodel the appellate court system. I would organize in the states and in the nation courts of criminal appeals, made up of judges learned in the criminal law, and governed by a desire for its speedy and vigorous enforcement. I would have sent to these courts a full record of the trial, and they should be compelled to pass upon the case as soon as possible, according to its merits, and ascertain the guilt or innocence of the accused from the truth and the law of the case manifest on the record. I would brush

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aside all technicalities that did not affect the guilt or innocence of the accused. I would not permit them to act on a partial record, or on any technical pleas concocted by cunning minds. I would provide by law against the reversal of cases unless upon their merits innocence was manifest. The guilt or innocence of the party should be the guide. I would require prompt action on the part of these courts. By the establishment of courts of this kind public confidence, in a great measure lost at the present time, would be restored, and the people would again be taught to depend upon legal protection against crime, and in this way a vigorous support to the courts and juries would be given by the masses of the people looking toward the law's vindication.

The necessity for a court of criminal appeals for the United States is, in my judgment, of the most urgent character. According to the Attorney-General's report, last year there were convicted of crimes in the United States 15,430 persons. The crimes mostly affected liberty, but a good many affected life.

Of course, the party convicted should have the right in every case or having his case reviewed upon writ of error. The opportunity for reviews should be made easy for him; even in cases where he could not pay the expense, the privilege should be given him at the cost of the government; but the review should take place at once, and when it comes to be passed upon it should be upon its merits. I would give every man the right to have his case before this court of criminal appeals, but at the same time I would guard the right so as to make it entirely effective to secure the most vigorous enforcement of the law, and at the same time protect the innocence of the accused.

My judgment is that, if the people will turn their attention to this gravest of all questions and build up a public sentiment which will secure a vigorous and pure administration of the law in the trial courts, and then see to it that their law makers provide for the establishment of these courts of criminal appeals where cases can be passed upon by men who are entirely conversant with the criminal law of the land, crime in a large measure will decrease, and mobs will be entirely destroyed; for I believe it to be a cardinal truth that where the law is properly enforced, the people are more than willing to look to the law for security than to any method which is in violation of the law.

I. C. PARKER.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR SILVER.

BY DR. OTTO ARENDT, EDITOR *DEUTCHES WOCHENBLATT*, MEMBER OF THE PRUSSIAN HOUSE OF DEPUTIES AND OF THE GERMAN SILVER COMMISSION OF 1894.

A THIRTY YEARS' WAR, or very nearly, has been waged over the equal monetary rights of silver and gold—a war as fatal in its consequences as the religious war of the seventeenth century. It was at the first monetary conference at Paris in 1867 that the theory of the single gold standard won its first and decisive victory. If to-day, after thirty years, we look back on those discussions, we see that all the suppositions then made in this respect were erroneous. The first and foremost object was to attain unity of standard through the gold standard; instead of this, the result has been that the world suffers from differences in money value such as never existed before. The principle that a fixed ratio of values between the two precious metals is possible was condemned; yet after thirty years the British House of Commons unanimously declares that the government should do everything in its power to obtain and secure a fixed ratio between the two precious metals.

If the nations could live the past thirty years over again, with the experience gained since, there is no doubt that the luckless experiment of imitating the English gold standard would not be repeated, but on the contrary each nation would strive to strengthen the double standard of the Latin Monetary Union, which secured to the world's commerce the stability of the ratio of values and the most stable value of money conceivable, amid the greatest fluctuations in the production. It certainly does not speak well for the gold standard that everybody now regrets that the warning voices of a Wolowski and a Seyd, thirty years ago, were not heard, which predicted the grave economic crisis

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as the consequence of the confusion in regard to the money standard.

The whole conflict of opinions at that time consisted in this, that in the opinion of one school, the French double standard maintained itself so long as the market price of the precious metals corresponded to it, while in the opinion of the other school, the market price of the precious metals corresponded to the French double standard so long as that standard was in operation. In this case, too, the facts have brought the proof. If there ever was a fact irrefutably demonstrated it is this, that the depreciation of silver was the consequence of the change in monetary laws. This can no longer be seriously questioned after witnessing the consequences of the closure of the Indian mints. The evils of the silver depreciation are everywhere recognized, and even in non-bimetallist circles the impression prevails which Prince Bismarck on one occasion voiced in private conversation: "We have got into a swamp with our gold standard, and we don't know how to get out." The worst is that we are getting deeper and deeper into the swamp and that it is becoming harder and harder to get out.

If at the Paris Monetary Conference of 1881 theory had not been thrust to the front, the solution would have been easy. I then vainly urged on the late Dana Horton and Henri Cernuschi that we ought to be content with what was then attainable. Instead of this, the United States, by their perverse monetary policy, made it easier for the European gold powers to maintain the gold standard.

When I first joined in the battle of the standards, in 1880, I tried to show that the international double standard does not presuppose the participation of England, but that on the contrary it would be more advantageous for Germany, France, and the United States if they adopted bimetallism without England. Either a fixed parity between silver and gold would then be attained, and then England would have no advantage; or gold would remain at a premium, and then England would be the land of the highest money value, to which every one would be anxious to sell and from which no one would willingly buy. Her economic decline would thus be inevitable.

About 1885 I secured the acceptance of this view, which I still regard as correct. For ten years the German bimetallist party strove, unfortunately without success, to realize the pro-

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gramme: Bimetallism without England, in connection with the Latin Monetary Union and the United States. If in 1895 we decided to recognize the participation of England as an indispensable prerequisite to the adoption of the double standard by Germany, it was not because our monetary views had undergone a change, but because we recognized that we made no headway with our former programme. If the silver price had declined still more, or if the decrease in the gold production, down to about 1885, had continued still farther, the maintenance of the gold standard would have been impossible. But the gold production unexpectedly increased, and the silver price rose, so that the situation became more endurable, especially for commerce and industry. A respite was thus created for the gold standard.

How long the gold production will maintain its present figure, no one can tell. I believe with Suess that "the greater the production, the sooner will the end be reached." In the same way, the movement of the silver price defies prediction. No one can tell whether silver four weeks hence will be quoted at 26 pence, 31 pence or 36 pence. Every fluctuation of the silver price intensifies the disturbances due to the gold standard. If the silver price is rather stable, or even slowly rising, as happens to be the case at this moment, certain circles feel a degree of reassurance. People think they can plod along under such conditions, until a sudden and great fluctuation once more shows the untenable character of the present situation.

That a universal gold standard might be introduced is conceivable. But that it is practically impossible to obtain the gold necessary for that purpose, is to-day admitted by the most inveterate gold men. Accordingly the typical gold man of to-day always demands the gold standard only for *his* country. In London the saying is that England must adhere to the gold standard, but that it is very much to be desired that the rest of the world should adopt bimetallism. But the gold standard man of Germany wishes to have his country in agreement with England on the money standard. Austria-Hungary does not wish to depart from the German standard, nor Rumania from that of Austria-Hungary; and thus the present state of affairs necessarily leads to the extension of the gold standard, which is everywhere recognized as dangerous and impossible.

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One land after the other makes abortive attempts to introduce the gold standard, and lapses into fiat money. This is no longer the exceptional condition in the case of ruined finances, but it is the rule with all debtor countries. The attempts made in Russia and Austria-Hungary to introduce the gold standard will lead to no other result than that obtained in Italy; the gold has to be locked up or it will flow out of the country; and the first untoward event causes the reappearance of the gold premium, higher than ever. If the United States has thus far escaped fiat money, it is solely owing to the increase of the gold production. On this increase in fact depends the very possibility of the existence of the gold standard. The bad news from the Transvaal and from West Australia are more decisive than all declarations of British Ministers. If a crash is imminent in West Australia, as would appear from the reports of Mining Councilor Schmeisser, if it is true that in the Transvaal the climax of the gold production has already been passed, if the wealth of Colorado is destined to be quickly exhausted by American energy—then it will not be long before all talk of a gold standard will subside; and that point may be reached in a few years.

Now, the question is, whether the great revolution which, in that event, is bound to occur may not be forestalled by common measures adopted by the nations for the rehabilitation of silver. On this question we have been at work during a quarter of a century. The people of the United States were the first to understand it and to favor international bimetallism. And yet, in my opinion, it is mainly the fault of the United States that bimetallism has not yet been brought about. The Americans ignored the great fundamental laws of circulation in trying to save silver by the experiments of the Bland and Sherman laws. What silver wanted was not the *demand,* for that is *unlimited.* Silver has has never yet lacked purchasers. What has been lacking since the abolition of the double standard is the fixed place of exchange between silver and gold, which can only be created by unlimited demand for both precious metals at a fixed ratio of values. Hence, limited coinage or limited purchases, such as were made in the United States from 1878 to 1894, are altogether inadequate. They wrought harm to the bimetallist cause, because their failure was exploited by the gold party, and because they stimulated the silver production. Had the United States

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declined every compromise and solely aimed at international bimetallism, the silver depreciation and the scarcity of gold would have been more severe in Europe, and a transition to bimetallism would long ago have been found.

If it is now desired to perpetuate the gold standard in Europe, let the government at Washington adopt free coinage of silver at the ratio of 1:16. At present, after the closure of the Indian mints, this step could not possibly have any other result than to make the American standard a silver standard. The price of silver of course would rise, but not to 59 pence and not permanently. The United States would have a standard not materially different from that of Mexico. All the disadvantages and all the advantages of a fluctuating and depreciated money standard would follow. Gold monometallism would be replaced by silver monometallism; the double standard would become nominal. No bimetallist can approve of this. Free coinage of silver in the United States would result in harm to Europe no doubt, but also in advantage. Perhaps the harm would predominate; but one thing is certain: the absorption of the American gold, the continual supplies coming from the American gold production, would for a long time to come relieve the European powers of all anxiety for their gold standard. The monetary anarchy would thus be perpetuated for a space of time beyond estimation. Only by insisting in all countries in an unequivocal manner on the international solution of the currency question, can international bimetallism be attained. "No more experiments!" is therefore the only appeal which the European bimetallists address to those of America; no silver purchases, no silver coinage, otherwise than on the basis of international agreement; and no more abortive attempts to bring them about.

It is my conviction that the bimetallists can easily refute all the arguments of the gold party that relate to principle. But there is one argument that they can not refute, and for this the gold party owes thanks to the unskilful monetary diplomacy of America. Whenever we bimetallists of Europe allude to international currency negotiations, we are driven from the field by a reference to the comedy of questions at the last monetary conference at Brussels in 1892; and in its criticisms of that conference the gold party is right. At a time inopportune for Europe, without any previous understanding with the leaders of the

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bimetallist movement in Europe, without any programme, nay even without any real directorship, the United States called this monetary conference. I was in Brussels at the time and talked with the American delegates. Some of them were Republicans, some Democrats. The Republicans said: "We can do nothing, for although we still control the government, the Democrats have carried the elections." The Democrats said: "We can do nothing either, for the Republicans are still in power." Now of course a monetary conference has a practical meaning and purpose only if practical proposals are brought forward. No such proposals were made by the Americans; on the contrary they left it to chance to have any proposals made. Thus some speeches were delivered for and against the gold standard, a number of dinners were given, and then the delegates departed, having succeeded in thoroughly discrediting monetary conferences. Balfour's declaration, that monetary conferences are of evil unless governments have come to an understanding beforehand, is illustrated by the events just described.

What, then, is the prospect of arriving at such an understanding? Worse than ever—or better than ever, according as you manage it.

The prospect is worse than ever if the cry is, All or nothing! Bimetallism in its fulness can be obtained in Europe only by including England; and England can not be induced to give up the gold standard within a measurable time—say, until the changed conditions of the precious metal production begin to be felt. In Germany everybody recognizes that the German empire must *keep pace* with England—that is to say, not go farther.

On the other hand, the chances of bimetallism are better than ever, if what is attainable can be recognized and measures taken to reach it gradually.

All European countries are agreed that the raising and fixing of the value of silver are in harmony with important economic interests. No country will refuse to co-operate in this. Is it possible on this restricted basis to overcome the prejudice against silver?

The United States alone can not establish the double standard by adopting free coinage; they would shift over to the silver standard, and we should vainly wait for a stable ratio of values.

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But if the nations in common create an unlimited demand for silver at a fixed gold price, and in this way create a fixed ratio, then the United States, as well as other countries, may open their mints to silver; and then that which to-day is unattainable by compulsion will be done voluntarily: silver will again be coined. A constant interchange of opinions is going on among European bimetallists in order to work out the details of such a procedure. As soon as the programme is agreed on, which is to be done at a conference soon to be held in Brussels, it will be the task of practical politics to submit the programme to a monetary conference.

Meantime we are content to let the peculiar European, and in particular the German, gold standard press do most of the talking. They are the same journals and the same elements that erstwhile fought against a protective tariff in Germany. They are loud but powerless. In our parliaments we have a most decided majority, which hails with delight every rational international regulation of the currency question, and in our government we have pronounced and well-informed bimetallists. The fury with which bimetallists are here attacked is downright comical. One of the favorite arguments is that we are bribed by the owners of American silver mines! Of course it is understood that all American politicians friendly to silver, and the bimetallists of all other countries, are also bribed by "Nevada" (where no silver is found any longer). However low one may estimate these bribes, still the mine owners must spend on them considerably more than their mines pay them. At the same time the fact that we aim at *international* bimetallism is purposely passed over in silence. We are said to be grieved because we have not in Germany a radical silver party, such as you have. I think that the time of monetary polemics has passed. The dispute is no longer as to whether silver is to be restored to its function as world's money, but merely how it is to be done. In regard to this "How?" we hope soon to send you detailed proposals across the Atlantic. Only please do not disturb our circles by silver experiments on your side!

As in your country, so in Europe, the currency question is becoming more and more a political question. This on the one hand weakens the bimetallist position, inasmuch as the resistance is strengthened, but on the other hand it forms the basis of our

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power in the parliaments of the various countries, especially in England. The English Cabinet overcame the difficulties this time by a sort of strategy, but that manœuvre will not always succeed, and for that reason the Cabinet of St. James's has to use every means to get out of the blind alley. In the Cabinet both the parties on the currency are represented; in the House of Commons the bimetallists have the majority in the very party now in power. Balfour succeeded for the present in inducing the bimetallists to tone down their resolution, in return for the promise that the Cabinet would then stand united in favor of the resolution. The gold party was unable to oppose this resolution; it was contented with the ministerial declaration that the English gold standard is not to be interfered with. But henceforth England is bound to this extent, that she must do everything in her power by international treaty to bring about a fixed ratio of values between silver and gold.

This resolution of the English House of Commons characterizes the situation. The object to be attained now is to *bring about* bimetallism without *naming* it.

Long struggles generally end without a radical solution. The struggle over the principles of currency will continue until finally the conviction gains practical acceptance that silver must have a fixed gold value. But when the price of silver no longer fluctuates, the reasons against its coinage disappear. The fluctuations in the value of silver may then be obviated by unlimited coinage of silver at a fixed ratio. It may, however, be possible also to facilitate the resumption of silver coinage, by measures securing a fixed value of silver. The latter way is perhaps circuitous, but yet it is at present the feasible way. The European bimetallists hope by this circuitous route to arrive at the goal more quickly than by the direct route. We are laboring for the same end on both sides of the Atlantic: for the termination of the monetary anarchy, for the international regulation of the currency question, the only method suitable to modern commerce. We are convinced that the aim will be all the more quickly attained if the bimetallists of all countries proceed in unison, as they are now doing, thanks to the conference held at Paris in December, 1895.

OTTO ARENDT.

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ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

ACCORDING to the latest statistics the vast political aggregate known as the British Empire, whose territories are distributed through Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceanica and America, embraces within its limits 11,257,128 square miles, inhabited by a population estimated at 379,489,481. The merchant marine which maintains the intercommunication between these widely scattered dominions and other nations consists of 11,536 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 13,242,662, which is more than half of the entire tonnage of the world. As the focus of the ever-extending commerce thus carried on under one political system between men of every race and every clime, London has become a universal clearing-house, in which values are measured only by the standard of gold which the British Empire produces in greater quantities than any other power. Its production of that metal during the ten years from 1885 to 1894, both inclusive, was £101,742,000 against £163,132,000 produced by all other nations combined. The total exports and imports of the Empire for the last fiscal year have been estimated at £1,173,250,000. The British colonies, it is said, import but thirty per cent. of their requirements from foreign countries, while their exports to such countries do not exceed forty per cent. A mere list of the banks by which the financial and commercial affairs of this complex machine are facilitated is bewildering, while the amount of capital employed is enormous. The total settlements made through the London clearing-house during the year ending December 31, 1894, amounted to £6,337,000,000. In order to defend these vast and priceless interests England has been forced to become the first of sea-powers, her navy now consisting of 235 vessels (not including

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162 torpedo boats and many stationary and sailing vessels) of a total tonnage of 515,307. All human affairs are so pervaded by the influence of this great and growing aggregate that every practical man charged with large responsibilities, be he merchant, manufacturer, financier, diplomat or statesman, is compelled to reckon continually with a force which confronts him on every hand. And yet comparatively few people have a clear and definite idea either of the details of the process by which this great fabric was built up, or of the political system by which it is held together and governed.

No great thing ever had a smaller beginning than the world-power whose heart beats at London. The history of its evolution is simply the history of the process through which the little Teutonic kingdom called "Wessex has grown into England, England into Great Britain, Great Britain into the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom into the British Empire," a process which has been gradually unfolding itself during the fourteen centuries that have elapsed since the Teutonic conquest and settlement of Britain began. The history of that process breaks itself naturally into two broad divisions: the first embracing the making of England itself and the subsequent drawing together by force of its authority of the whole of the British Isles under the legal title of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (449–1801); the second embracing the acquisition of all the territories now possessed by the United Kingdom outside of the original group (1606–1896). The purpose of this paper will be to outline the growth of the English colonial system whose history begins with the voyages of the Cabots along the American coast in 1497–98. By their discoveries was laid the foundation of England's claim to the soil of the New World, actual possession of which was first taken under the charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1606. Preceded by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, the English was the last of the European nations to enter upon the work of colonization which has resulted in their present commercial supremacy.

The marvellous success which the English have had since that time as a colonizing nation must be attributed to two traits inherent in the race itself; first, the daring spirit of adventure inherited from the Vikings, which has impelled English colonists to make new conquests in every clime; second, the power to

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keep and govern all such acquisitions through the inevitable and involuntary reproduction in the new land of the political system of the old. When the Teutonic conquerors came from the mainland to subdue Britain, the work was done by small companies who, in obedience to race instincts, grouped themselves together in townships out of whose unions arose the larger aggregates finally bound up in the English kingdom. The power to subdue a new country, and then to build up a new state by this process of aggregation, constitutes the strength of the English nation as a colonizing nation. England's first colonial difficulty grew out of the new theory of colonial rights which necessarily resulted from the difference in organization between the ancient and the modern state. When a band of emigrants went forth from a city-commonwealth of ancient Greece, they left the old state or city behind them, and a new state at once arose wherever a new city was founded. A Greek colony thus formed was from its very nature independent of the mother state, although the tie of kinship might constitute a bond of perpetual alliance between them. But when, after the discovery of Columbus, bands of emigrants went forth from modern states, organized not as cities but as nations, the new theory arose that, as the emigrant was still a member of the nation, he simply carried the old state along with him wherever he might make a new settlement. Thus it came to be understood that "where Englishmen are there is England, where Frenchmen are there is France, and so the possessions of France in North America were called New France, and one group at least of the English possessions New England." The supreme control of the mother state over the colony which necessarily resulted from this new conception was first asserted over the English colonies in America through the ordaining power of the king in council, for the reason that all rights and immunities as English subjects came to them through royal charters which, as between the colonists and the Crown, were irrevocable but not non-forfeitable contracts. Under such instruments the American colonists were permitted by the English Crown to enjoy nearly every privilege of self-government, except the right to regulate their own trade, which was to be managed by the mother country for the benefit of the home trader. Upon these two antagonistic principles of local self-government and foreign control was founded England's old colonial system as distinguished from

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the new, under which Crown colonies are governed by administrative methods without representative assemblies. A fatal conflict between the antagonistic principles of the old colonial system arose when the English Parliament, which the American colonies regarded as little more than the legislative organ of the United Kingdom, assumed sovereignty over them, and attempted to tax them and legislate for them just as it did for the people of Kent and Middlesex. Ignoring the fact that the United Kingdom had grown into an empire since their work of colonization had begun, the colonists rejected Burke's theory that the English Parliament had thus become endowed with an "imperial character, in which, as from the throne of Heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislations, and guides and controls them without annihilating any." Out of the rejection of the theory of the omnipotence of an Imperial Parliament over self-governing communities beyond the four seas grew the War of the Revolution, and the severance of the group of colonies out of whose union has arisen the Federal Republic of the United States. But their secession had no effect whatever upon the theory of colonial rights which they rejected, so far as the mother state was concerned. The fact still remained that England had grown into an empire, and by virtue of that fact, and not by virtue of any positive law whatever, the Parliament of the United Kingdom was endowed with the imperial character which Burke attributed to it. While the term "British Empire," often used for convenience in treaties, and "Imperial Parliament" are purely conventional terms, the principle which they embody is the governing force which guides and controls the English colonial system as it now exists.

All of the colonial possessions of the United Kingdom beyond the four seas, excepting such military and naval stations as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus and Aden, constitute four great groups of territory inhabited chiefly or to a great extent by men of English blood, which may be enumerated as follows: the North American possessions; the West Indian Islands, in connection with which may be considered the English possessions in Central and South America; the English possessions in South Africa, and the possessions in Australasia. And last and apart from these four groups must be considered the great dependency of India, where a completely foreign race is ruled by English

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officials under administrative forms which constitute an exception to the English colonial system as it exists elsewhere.

The vast expanse of territory known as Canada, which stretches from the northern boundary of the United States to the North Pole, embraces within its limits three groups of settlements: in the east, the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador; in the centre, old Canada, comprising the present provinces of Quebec and Ontario; in the west, British Columbia, the province of Manitoba, and the districts of Alberta, Athabasca, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. The history of this aggregate really begins with the first permanent settlement made by the French, whose title rested upon the voyage of the Florentine navigator Verazzano, who, in 1524, coasted under the French flag from Florida to Cape Breton. To the vaguely defined region thus appropriated as "La Nouvelle France," Jacques Cartier came ten years later, taking possession of the mainland in the name of his king, and penetrating as far as the present sites of Montreal and Quebec. Not, however, until 1608, was a regular settlement made of the province of Quebec. Then it was that Champlain landed at the site of the city of that name, which became the seat of the Récollet and Jesuit missions, carried out under trying circumstances during the century and a half that followed that event. As early as 1713 Great Britain gained from France, under the treaty of Utrecht, Hudson Bay and Straits, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and from that time fairly began the struggle for colonial supremacy between France and England in the New World. For a time France was brilliantly successful. Early in the seventeenth century she seized the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and a century later that of the Mississippi, and between the two she placed at points of the greatest strategic value a line of forts which were designed to protect from English intrusion that vast domain called New France, which stretches on the West of the Alleghanies from New Orleans to Quebec. But when the time for expansion came, the fact was revealed that the young giant of the Atlantic had only been bound with the thongs of Lilliput. When the English colonial system came in collision with the French colonial system, when the new self-governing soldiery which had been reared in the southern counties and the New England townships went out together under the

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lead of the mother country to do battle with a colonial power which had never been trained in self-reliance, it "was like a Titan overthrowing a cripple." France's dream of empire in the west was broken, she was forced to give up her priceless possessions and to retire from North America. By the Peace of Paris, signed in 1763, France, among other things, ceded Canada to Great Britain, who guaranteed to the French colonists the free exercise of their religion and equal civil and commercial privileges with British subjects, while "the Quebec Act" of 1774 secured to them the old French laws, including the custom of Paris. After the Declaration of Independence in 1776 many royalist refugees settled in what came to be known as Upper Canada, where they were joined by emigrants from the mother country. To these British settlers a government was given in 1791 with an elective legislature, and at the same time the province of Upper Canada was severed from the older French Colony of Lower Canada. Not until 1822 was a proposal made for a legislative union between the two provinces, which was finally carried out in 1841, at which time the representatives of the people were given that control over the executive government which distinguishes responsible government in the mother country. Such in brief was the colonial constitution of Old Canada down to the making of the existing federation under the act of 1867.

Twenty-seven years before the Florentine Verazzano laid the foundation of the French claim to Canada, the Venetian Cabot had discovered Newfoundland and Labrador in the name of England. After a long contest for its possession France surrendered her claims to this maritime district to Great Britain in 1713, as heretofore stated. Not, however, until 1728 was a colony authorized and a governor of Newfoundland appointed, and no permanent dwellings were permitted for many years thereafter. Not until 1832 was representative government granted, and in 1855 for the first time a responsible one. The eastern portion of Labrador, settled by French Bretons in 1520, was nominally attached to Newfoundland in 1765, and formally united to it in 1809. The three remaining maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were organized out of the region first named by the French Acadia, and afterwards called by the English Nova Scotia by reason of the fact that

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James I. in 1621 gave a charter to the country to Sir William Alexander, who took over a colony of Scotchmen. After having returned to the possession of France it was again ceded to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris, and in 1784 New Brunswick and Cape Breton were separated from Nova Scotia. In 1773 a local government was granted to Prince Edward Island as a separate colony. Passing to the western group, we find that British Columbia had its origin in the settlement made in the forties by the Hudson Bay Company, which had a feeble existence down to the discovery of gold in 1858, when the province was made a Crown colony. Manitoba, formerly the Red River Settlement, was not organized as a distinct province until 1870. Out of that vast unsettled district known as the Northwest Territories the Dominion government in 1882 carved the four districts already named for the convenience of settlers and for postal purposes.

To hush internal dissensions between the united provinces of Ontario and Quebec, arising out of conflicting local interests, race, and religion, and also to enable the provinces to present a united front in the event of invasion from the United States, which, in 1866, abrogated the Reciprocity Treaty made in 1853, the plan of confederation was brought forward which ripened into "The British North American Act of 1867," providing for a voluntary union of the whole of British North America under the name of the Dominion of Canada. To the student of the science of politics the structure of the federal constitution thus granted by the Imperial Parliament is rich in philosophic interest. So far as its federal character is concerned, its prototype was the Constitution of the United States, made nearly a century before, when the system of responsible cabinet government now existing in England was in eclipse. The President of the United States was for that reason no doubt modelled after George III., who not only reigned but governed; while, for a like reason, the Governor-General of Canada was made a vice-king after the more modern type represented by Queen Victoria. After this radical difference in the structure of the executive power, which extends to provincial organization, has been taken into account, the likeness between the two federal constitutions now moving on side by side is striking throughout. So far as local organization is concerned, the Canadian province answers in general terms to the American state, except that the former is more subordinate to the central power,

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which holds a veto upon the acts of the provincial legislatures. The federal executive power is exercised by the Queen, acting through a Governor-General appointed by her, who is aided by a Privy Council, composed of twelve ministers and two members without portfolios. The federal legislative power is vested in a Parliament, composed of a Senate, whose members are appointed for life by the Crown on the nomination of the ministry for the time being, and of a House of Commons, composed of elected members apportioned among the provinces according to population. The federal judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court, composed of a Chief Justice and five puisne judges, which holds three sessions a year at Ottawa. The only other Dominion court is the Court of Exchequer, consisting of a single judge, who may sit where he pleases. The fact, however, must be borne in mind that the ultimate judicial power which construes the Canadian Constitution so as to keep each department within its proper bounds is vested, not in the Canadian Supreme Court, but in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which draws to London, in the last resort, all great questions of colonial law. The most remarkable feature of this federal colonial system is its legislative independence, which is so great as to permit it even to levy a protective tariff against the mother country herself. The original confederation was formed in 1866 between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In 1870 Manitoba, with the Northwest Territories, were admitted; in 1871 British Columbia, and in 1873 Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland alone now remaining as a separate colony.

Of that vast group of islands called by Columbus the West Indies, Great Britain possesses Jamaica, Trinidad, the Bahamas, the Windward and the Leeward Isles, and not far away from these the Bermudas. Originally in the possession of Spain, the West Indies continued to be claimed by that power down to the beginning of the seventeenth century when the English, French, and Dutch began to make settlements into which they imported negroes from West Africa to work the plantations. Thus it was that, when war broke out between these powers in Europe, the conflict was extended to this island world, where bitter struggles often took place for the possession of sources of supply which yielded all of the tropical products. Not until 1810 did such contests end with the conquest of almost every island by Great

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Britain, who afterwards restored many of the most valuable to their former owners. At that time slavery existed everywhere; and when it was abolished and the protective duties repealed, there was a general commercial collapse throughout the British West Indies. In those of the islands in which England's old colonial system prevails, local government is vested in representatives chosen by the people themselves, while in those in which the modern Crown colony exists administration is carried on by officials appointed in London. After two centuries of self-government on the old plan, Jamaica by its own consent given in December, 1866, became a Crown colony whose affairs are now administered by a governor and council who hold at the royal will and pleasure. While Trinidad is governed in the same way, representative government exists in the Bahamas, the Bermudas, and in the Windward and Leeward isles; and in the group last named, which is divided into five presidencies, a federal system prevails.

The title of Great Britain to what is called British Honduras in Central America was gradually built up by English colonies of wood cutters, who finally widened the right to carry on their occupation, conceded in treaties with Spain, into a demand for independence of that power. England's claim to sovereignty over the settlements thus founded was first practically established in 1798, when she defeated an attempt made by Spain to dislodge them, and the inchoate right then acquired ripened into a perfect one by subsequent treaties with American powers, the last of which was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. As a Crown colony British Honduras is governed by executive and legislative councils appointed in the usual way. After successive occupations by the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and the English, the right of the last, who had taken forcible possession of British Guiana in 1803, was confirmed by the Peace of Paris of 1814, under which the Dutch conveyed to the English all of their rights for a large moneyed consideration, upon condition that the Dutch laws and institutions should be maintained for the benefit of the colonists. In that way the legislative power in the colony has remained in the Court of Policy, a Dutch creation, consisting of seven official and eight elective members, and in which the governor, who can veto a measure at any stage, has two votes. There is besides an executive council, consisting of the governor and six members appointed by the crown, who are charged with

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the work of administration. While the English penal code prevails, the Roman Dutch law is the basis of civil rights.

The oldest of England's African possessions are those on the western coast, of which the colony of Sierra Leone, whose history begins in 1787 with the purchase from the native chiefs of a district of country by an emancipation society to which Wilberforce belonged, is the most important. The settlement was made as a home for slaves released from captivity, and its government, originally vested in a company, was in 1807 transferred to the Crown, who now rules it through a governor aided by executive and legislative councils. In 1866 Sierra Leone was made the seat of a general government embracing not only that colony but also the trading settlements known as the Gold Coast, Lagos and the Gambia; but in 1874 the Gold Coast and Lagos were created a separate crown colony, and in 1888 the Gambia was dealt with in the same manner. Far away in the South Atlantic lies the Island of St. Helena granted by Charles II. to the East India Company and created a crown colony in 1833. To the north of St. Helena is the isle of Ascension, taken possession of by the English in 1815, and now governed by the Board of Admiralty as if its inhabitants were actually on board of a man-of-war. The centre of England's possessions in South Africa is Cape Colony which, discovered by the Portuguese in 1486 and settled by the Dutch in 1652, was finally taken possession of by Great Britain in 1806, and the right thus acquired was confirmed by the Peace of Paris of 1815. Down to 1827 the Dutch scheme of administration was continued in force, when it was superseded by English colonial institutions which have finally been developed into the governmental system adopted in 1873, which is both representative and responsible. The adjoining colony of Natal, originally settled by English and by Boers, was declared a British possession in 1843 and placed under the authority of the Cape, in which condition it remained until 1856 when it was given a separate existence with representative institutions; in 1893 it was given responsible government. In 1884 Basutoland was made a separate colony, which is governed by a resident commissioner under the direction of the High Commissioner for South Africa, who exercises legislative authority by proclamation. In 1885 the colony of Bechuanaland was constituted, and its government vested in the governor of Cape Colony, who makes laws

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by proclamation and executes them through an administrator who represents him on the spot. In 1887 Zululand was also made a British colony and placed under the control of the Governor of Natal, who acts through a resident commissioner. Over the adjoining Transvaal, the republic founded by the Dutch farmers who removed first from the Cape and then from Natal in order to escape from British rule, England retains only the suzerainty established by the treaty of 1884, in which the Boers conceded to the English the right to regulate their foreign relations. In the Indian Ocean midway between the Cape and Madras lies the isle of Mauritius which, possessed in turn by the Portuguese, Dutch and French, was taken from the last by the English in 1810. The government of this island, more representative than that of an ordinary crown colony, is carried on by a governor and council in conjunction with a legislative assembly which contains elective as well as official elements. In subjection to this central government are placed the dependencies of Mauritius consisting of some seventy islands scattered over an area of a thousand miles in extent, the chief of which are the Seychelles, Rodrigues, and the Oil Isles. The local government of the first named is vested in an administrator assisted by executive and legislative councils.

The British possessions in Australasia comprise the great island-continent of Australia, the adjacent islands of New Zealand and Tasmania, a part of the island of New Guinea, together with a vast number of smaller islands in the Pacific Ocean, which are governed either as possessions or protectorates. The English title to Australia dates from its discovery by Captain Cook in 1770, and out of the penal settlement made by the English Government in 1778 has grown the colony of New South Wales, which, after a troubled history, has greatly increased in wealth and population, and now enjoys responsible government carried on by a governor nominated by the Crown, in conjunction with two legislative assemblies, the one appointed and the other elected. In 1851 Victoria was carved out of the southern part of New South Wales and given a separate existence under a constitution substantially the same. In 1859 Queensland was in the same way carved out of the northern portion and organized in the same manner. South Australia, first colonized in 1836, received a constitution of the prevailing type in 1856, and in 1863 its boundaries were so extended as to embrace the entire centre of the

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Australian continent from north to south. Western Australia, which embraces all that its name denotes, was organized under a local constitution of the prevailing type conferred by an act of the Imperial Parliament, which went into effect on the 21st of October, 1890. In 1841 a group of islands in the South Pacific were by letters patent erected into the colony of New Zealand, distinct from New South Wales, which is now ruled by a Royal Governor, an upper legislative council appointed by him, and by a house of representatives chosen by an electorate in which women, who are not qualified for election, are allowed to vote. In 1825 Tasmania was also severed from New South Wales and erected into a separate colony; in 1853 the transportation of criminals was abolished and its present name substituted for that of Van Dieman's Land, originally given it by its discoverer, Tasman, in 1642. Under its constitution its two legislative councils constitute "the parliament" which directs its destinies in connection with a royal governor, who is surrounded by a responsible ministry. The Fiji Islands, ceded by their native chiefs to Great Britain and formally annexed in 1874, are governed as a crown colony, native administration being carried on through the chiefs under the Governor's supervision. The northwest half of New Guinea belongs to Holland, which annexed it in the sixteenth century. In 1884 the eastern portion was divided between Germany and Great Britain. First governed as a protectorate, the English portion was created a crown colony in 1888 under the name of British New Guinea. All scattered islands, or groups of islands, in the Western Pacific not within the limits of a British colony or within the jurisdiction of any civilized power, have been placed, by acts of Parliament passed in 1872 and 1875, under the control of a high commissioner, who is assisted in the work of government by deputy commissioners armed with both administrative and judicial functions. The manifest destiny of Australia, but little less in territorial area and population than Canada, is in the direction of just such a federal system as was created in that Dominion by the act of 1867. As early as 1852 proposals were made in the English parliament looking to such a result, and in 1891 a convention met at Sydney, in New South Wales, in which a federal system was elaborated, whose adoption was postponed by reason of certain local antagonisms, which will in time, no doubt, pass out of view.

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England's possessions in Asia consist in the main of the great dependency of India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, a part of Borneo, Cyprus and Aden, the last named being the key of the Red Sea and one of the safeguards of the new commercial route which the Suez Canal has made available. The old sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama, who anchored before Calicut in May, 1498. The first intruders into the new trade domain thus secured by the Portuguese were the Dutch, who in 1602 merged all of their trading societies into the Dutch East India Company. Two years before that event certain English traders, who had had differences with the Dutch as to the price of pepper, obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter for the first English East India Company, the prototype of the Virginia Company incorporated by James I. in 1606. "One of these charters is the root of English title to the East, and the other to the West. One of these companies has grown into the Empire of India; the other into the United States of North America." Not until 1639 did the English East India Company lay the foundations of its work by the making of the settlement which in 1653 became the independent presidency of Madras. In 1688 the company purchased from Charles II. the island of Bombay, which came to him as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. In the next year were laid the foundations of Fort William, destined to develop into the modern city of Calcutta. Rival companies then came into the field, but in 1708 they were all amalgamated under a charter granted by Queen Anne to "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." In 1746 a desperate struggle began, which was carried on at the same time in the New World between the English adventurers and the French under Dupleix who, with the aid of his government as such, attempted to build up a French Empire in India. The serious reverses which the English suffered at first were more than retrieved by Clive, who after a series of brilliant movements completed the ruin of the French in 1761, reducing their territory to the fragment which they now retain. But to the French belongs the honor of having discovered the two facts which have made the conquest of a thickly peopled country as large as Europe, without Russia, possible for a mere handful of foreign invaders. As Mill has

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stated it: "The two important discoveries for conquering India were; 1st, the weakness of the native armies against European discipline; 2d, the facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service." The real weakness of the native armies must be found, not in the want of fighting force in the individual, but in the fact that India is a mere geographical expression which does not imply the cohesion of nationality arising out of the unity of either race, language or religion. The artificial and temporary union between the races of India, brought about through the extension of the Mogul Empire, which began to decay as early as 1707, was practically at an end when the work of conquest was assumed by the organizing hand of Hastings, who was made governor-general in 1774, on the creation of that office under the Regulation Act of the year before. So important had the work in India then become that the Company's troops were aided by royal troops, and Parliament declared that all territorial acquisitions made should pass under its control. During the administration of Lord Dalhousie (1848–56) it may be said that India was for the first time united under English rule. Then it was that the Punjab, Oude, and Nagpore were secured under a policy of annexation, which proceeded upon the principle that wherever there was gross misrule, or a break in the natural succession, the native states should pass to the British Government as a boon to the subject populations. The great work of conquest, thus accomplished by a mere trading company, was carried on in the main by its own armies, of which, on an average, only a fifth part was English. The power to thus employ native troops, which was the basis of the whole system, was rudely shaken when, in May, 1857, a great mutiny broke out among them, which spread to the whole Bengal army. Although confidence was in a great measure restored through the crushing of the mutiny by the turning of the Indian races against each other, the event was the death knell of the Company, which was dissolved in 1858 by the act under which the Crown declared its intention to assume the government of the territories in India "heretofore administered in trust by the Honorable East India Company," and in 1877 the Queen assumed by consent of Parliament for certain limited purposes the title of Empress of India. By the "Act for the Better Government of India," approved August, 1858, the supreme au-

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thority, both executive and legislative, over all British India was vested in the viceroy or Governor-General-in-Council, subject to the ultimate sanction of the Secretary of State for India in England. The viceroy's council is twofold. There is the ordinary executive council usually composed of seven official members who divide among themselves the departments of foreign affairs, finance, war, public works, etc., and who, in addition to the duties thus imposed upon them, prepare measures for the legislative council, which consists of the same persons with "additional members for making laws and regulations," embracing non-official native and European elements. The supreme judicial authority, whose organization is not uniform, is vested in certain high courts, from which appeals lie to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. For purposes of local administration India is divided into provinces, each with a government of its own, and more or less independent according to the course of its historical development. The unit of administration within the province is the district, at whose head is an officer called either collector-magistrate or deputy-commissioner, who is the sole responsible chief of his jurisdiction, and as such he is a civil and criminal judge of first instance. The administration of the native or feudatory states of India is not carried on by British officials but by their native chiefs who, under the direction of the central Indian government, are permitted to exercise more or less local authority. This paternal system without elective elements, under which nearly three hundred millions of people are governed from London, embodies the principle upon which rests the crown colony, and the same remark may be applied to the governments of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong and North Borneo. Cyprus is ruled by a high commissioner assisted by a legislative council composed of officials and elective members, while Aden is the centre of a British protectorate over the neighboring Arab tribes, who are independent of Turkish rule and in subordinate treaty relations with the government of India.

From a brief review which has now been made of the English colonial system, the fact appears that it embraces almost every form of government, from that of the autocratic high commissioner, who legislates for the savage Basutoland by the issuance of proclamations merely, up to the complex federal union, under which the self-governing communities of Canada control their

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own destinies with scarcely any interference whatever from the parent state. The distinguishing feature of this elastic system is embodied in the application to each of its widely divergent parts of that form of government which seems best adapted to its special stage of development and to its local wants and traditions. To those communities which are fully developed, not only representative, but responsible government is given; to those not so far advanced, representative government only; to those still more backward, a composite form, partly representative and partly official; while those not deemed capable of local self-government in any form are placed under what is known as the crown colony system, which means simply a body of official rulers appointed from Downing Street. Over all, no matter whether the grant of autonomy be great or small, the ultimate power forever abides in the Imperial and omnipotent Parliament at Westminster, which can at a blow reduce Canada from her high estate to one of servile dependence. And yet, even under that sword of Damocles, England's colonial empire now reposes so peacefully as so shake the faith of many in Turgot's famous apothegm that "colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen."

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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PROGRESS OF THEOSOPHY IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY E. T. HARGROVE, PRESIDENT OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN AMERICA.

In August, 1890, Mme. H. P. Blavatsky contributed an article to the North American Review on "Recent Progress in Theosophy." This article made a considerable stir at the time, and, while arousing interest in the minds of many whose ideas on this important subject had been till then of the vaguest, it also gave rise to no little incredulity on account of the glowing report given of the work already carried out by the Theosophical Society, and because of the hopeful view taken by Mme. Blavatsky of the future of the cause for which she lived and labored. The world is full of wiseacres whose habitual mental attitude is prophetic of disaster, and who regard with contempt all that they do not understand. In this instance they readily admitted that Mme. H. P. Blavatsky was a woman of genius, but added that the Society she represented would certainly go to pieces at her death.

In May, 1891, Mme. H. P. Blavatsky died, and instead of disaster following her death, there came to the Society new life and activity; the membership increased, public interest increased, and the press began to take a more intelligent view of the philosophy.

Dealing as I am with the work of the Theosophical Society in America, it would be out of place to enter into details regarding the progress of the movement in Europe, Australasia, and Asia. It is sufficient to say that it has been immense, and that at the present time no educated people either in England or in other European countries would willingly acknowledge their ignorance of the doctrines of Theosophy.

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In America the progress made since 1890 has been even more marked. After the death of Mme. Blavatsky, Mr. William Q. Judge managed the affairs of the Society in America. He did so with such brilliant success that he soon excited against himself the same violent attacks, with a few modifications, to which Mme. Blavatsky had been subject during her lifetime. Not only was this slander of the same tone and quality as that levelled at her, but the forebodings of the wiseacres assumed the same form, and itwas generally asserted that whenever Mr. Judge should die the Society of which he was president would at last disintegrate and gradually disappear. Once more these prophets of disaster have been disappointed. On March 21 of this year W. Q. Judge died, and yet at no period in the history of the movement has the Society in America been so united in purpose, so strong in action, so far-reaching in its influence as at present. The Convention held in New York April 26 and 27, only five weeks after Mr. Judge's death, most amply proved this. Delegates attended from branches of the Society in all parts of the United States. Several came from Canada. Over one hundred attended from the neighborhood of Boston alone, and from California, Georgia, Indiana, and other states north, south, east, and west, came delegates who were united absolutely in aim and in their devotion to the cause. As evidence of this it is only necessary to state that every measure adopted by the Convention received a unanimous vote.

Properly understood, that Convention was a perfect justification of Mr. Judge's life and work, and the unity that then prevailed, and which continues to prevail, should show the world that Theosophists not only know what they want, but know how to get it and will get it. The actual force of unity is but little understood. The world has so few opportunities to study its action practically! But I believe that ten men or women acting in perfect unity, without thought of self or of personal ambition or jealousy, could sway the destiny of a great nation within a few years. There are many thousands of Theosophists in this country who are united in that way. Is it to be wondered at that we feel certain of success?

Mme. Blavatsky, in the article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to which I have referred, states with pride that "there are at the present day [April 29, 1890] *thirty-eight* chartered

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branches of the Theosophical Society in the United States." On April 26 of this year there were *one hundred and eight* chartered and active branches of the Society in America, the result of steady growth and of the self-sacrificing efforts of the Society's many members who have devoted time, money and work to the movement with no other motive to prompt them than their love for the cause they have made their own. No salary or perquisites whatever are attached to any official position in the Society.

In spite of these facts the Society and its officers, as well as Theosophy itself, seem to have been selected by a few writers as a fairly safe target for unlimited innuendo and misrepresentation, and as I have not personally suffered from this I can afford to refer to it. Such things are of practically small consequence where individuals are concerned, but account for the general confusion that exists as to what Theosophy is really about, and as to what Theosophists are doing and teaching. Within the last few weeks an editorial in a prominent New York newspaper contained a statement to the effect that membership in the Society had certainly decreased steadily during the last five years. What has been written above will sufficiently show the absurdity of such a statement. Perhaps after all a prevarication of that kind does not deceive the public.

The American press as a whole, however, has recently come to realize the seriousness and the influence of the Theosophical movement, and such representative papers as the New York *Tribune* can be relied upon to give accurate and impartial information concerning the work of the Society in America. Minor papers will before long imitate this admirable example, and may even cease to insist that a Mahatma is a blue spirit who lives on the top of a mountain, and that Mme. Blavatsky was proved to be a fraud; for such statements are neither humorous nor original, nor true.

Beneath all this misunderstanding and misrepresentation, what is the Society in America doing at the present time? First as to the Society itself. Its headquarters are situated at 144 Madison Avenue, New York, where the official work is carried on and where various public meetings are held. The Society has three objects, only the first of which is binding upon all members. That first object is "to form a nucleus of universal brotherhood without any distinctions whatever." All

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who join our ranks must subscribe to that object, while the two subsidiary objects are optional, though widely followed by members. These subsidiary objects are: the study of ancient and modern religions, philosophies and sciences, and the demonstration of the importance of such study; and the investigation of the unexplained laws in nature and the psychical powers latent in man. Our platform is consequently as broad as it could possibly have been made, and hence we have among us Christians of all denominations, Buddhists, Jews, agnostics and others, besides those who distinctively call themselves Theosophists, though the large majority of our members come under the last named category. No one is asked his religious belief on joining, and many members become "Theosophists" after having been in the Society for some time. This breadth of platform and the unqualified freedom of thought and expression to which every member is entitled are in themselves an inspiration which no other organization known to me provides.

Theosophy, or that system of thought which is followed by those calling themselves Theosophists, is not an eclectic philosophy, as is sometimes supposed, nor is it yet another invention of this most inventive age. Mme. Blavatsky, the best-known Theosophist of this century, constantly stated that her object was to remind the present generation of the vast fund of wisdom that lay hidden beneath the surface of many an ancient scripture, and that she had no new revelation to give. But she did give the key to the understanding of the scriptures and symbols which without her aid would have remained unintelligible to most of us. Theosophy is in fact as old as man himself, though the name was not widely used until the time of Ammonius Saccas. The Sanscrit equivalent of Theosophy, *Brahma-Vidyâ* or Divine Wisdom, was, however, a term in general use long before the period of Neo-Platonism; and before Sanscrit had been evolved from pre-existing languages, the same Divine Wisdom was being studied under some other name.

This Divine Wisdom, or Theosophy, only a part of which is contained in the exoteric teachings put forward under that name at the present time, is a great mass of knowledge concerning man and the universe that has been handed down from generation to generation of those who have become Adepts in its understanding. But these men, who were and still are the elder brothers

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of the race, variously called Masters, Adepts or Mahatmas, knowing human nature and having at all times to work in harmony with nature's laws, have never given out more of their knowledge than would be understood and properly used by their hearers. That is why every great religion had originally an exoteric or public side, and an esoteric or deeper teaching reserved for the few. Jesus said that unto his disciples he could reveal the "mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven," but unto them that were without he could speak only in parables.* Gautama Buddha, more than five hundred years before the beginning of our era, warned his disciples that "superior men of wise understanding guard the word, guard the mystery, and do not reveal it on a sudden."† The same thing is to be found in Hinduism, in Zoroastrianism, and in all the other great religions—in every case there were certain "mysteries" only revealed to the few. These deeper teachings were given to those who were initiated into the Mysteries of Egypt, of ancient India, Greece, and of the Maya civilization in Central America, and many of the world's greatest sages openly stated that they owed their knowledge to what they had been taught in this way.

Theosophy in all ages has claimed that truth is not the special property of any one sect. It has always stated that the inner teachings of Jesus, Buddha, Krishna, of the various Zoroasters, and the teachings of the Mysteries wherever situated, were one and the same, and that evidence of this may be found in the symbolism and in the sacred books of the world. Carved on the stone monuments of Palenque, long antedating their discovery by Europeans, are to be found the identical symbols, such as the cross and the svastica, that have become familiar to us as Christian and Buddhistic emblems. The symbols used by the Initiates of Chaldea, India, Mexico and Egypt were the common language of such students in all ages and in all countries.

The sacred books of the world tell the same story, and instead of being opposed to each other as is generally imagined, they are but different presentations of the same eternal verities. In the Chinese *Tao-teh-king*, the Hindu *Upanishads*, the Buddhist *Suttas*, the *Zend Avesta* of the Zoroastrians, the *Popol-Vuh* of the ancient Guatemalians, the Christian *Bible*, and in such records as

* Compare I *Corinthians*, iii., 1-2; II *Corinthians*, xii., 3-4; *Matthew*, xiii., 10-11; *Luke*, viii., 10; *Mark*, iv., 11; *Matthew*, vii., 6.

† Sacred Books of the East, *Saddharma-Pundarika*, v., 2.

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have been left us of the teachings of Pythagoras, Plato, Ammonius Saccas and others who had been initiated into the Sacred Mysteries, as they were rightly called, the same teachings are to be found, differing in form and phrasing, often superficially contradictory, but still the same. These founders of religions and philosophies in every epoch used different veils, but that which was behind the veils was Divine Wisdom or Theosophy.

Once this view of the world's religions is accepted, and it is easily verifiable, it opens up an immensely wide field of inquiry, and provides a broad basis for further thought. The whole tendency of this teaching is towards unification, and if one word could convey an idea of Theosophy as a whole, it would be the word *unity*, for unity implies universality.

Theosophy recognizes no separateness in nature; finds life and consciousness everywhere present; holds that spirit is as much a part of nature as matter in any of its countless forms, and maintains that law is itself divine, applying equally to the soul and to the atom, and cannot be set aside, for to set law aside would set aside divinity.

The theosophical doctrines of reincarnation or rebirth and of Karma or compensation, are not only the doctrines of every teacher already named, but are in strict accord with all that is known of nature's methods. The Theosophist, more logical maybe than his neighbor, who now and again would divide the universe into water-tight compartments to suit his own convenience, believes that the soul must grow like all other things in nature, and therefore necessarily upholds the view that each man's soul has lived on earth in human form many times in the past, and will live on earth in human form many times in the future. This great process of development is governed throughout by law, frequently called the law of *Karma*, a Sanscrit word meaning action. As all action contains within itself reaction, *Karma* is a word-symbol used to express the well-known law that every cause produces a definite effect, and every effect is preceded by a commensurate cause. This law, taken in conjunction with the law of rebirth, makes man the result of his own thoughts and actions in his past lives on earth, and the master of his own future. It establishes on a firm basis of reason man's innate belief in universal justice, and, like every other teaching of Theosophy, it emphasizes the underlying unity of all things

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by showing that each human soul in its pilgrimage through material life passes through countless experiences, and that these experiences, whether of joy or sorrow, are shared in common by all mankind. Whether we now live amidst luxury or poverty is of less account than *how* we live under those conditions, for on that will depend the character of our future lives on earth.

This doctrine is of the greatest possible help in enlarging the conception of human brotherhood, for no man, holding such views, can think of himself as separate in character or experience from other men, when the sum total of earthly lives is taken into account.

Theosophists do not, however, confine their activity to propaganda. Much practical work on original lines is being carried on. All of the enterprises undertaken by members of the Society are marked by their non-sectarian and liberal character. For instance, some ladies in Buffalo, members of the Society in that city, instituted some time ago what is called the "Wayfare" for women. Here women are given a night's lodging for either a nominal sum or an hour's work, and no questions are asked them as to their religious views, their occupation, or previous place of residence, as is usually done in similar institutions, where such women are sometimes turned back into the streets if their replies are not considered satisfactory.

In the poorer parts of New York "Brotherhood Suppers" have been instituted, which are well attended, and for participation in which a small payment is exacted. These suppers are followed by discussions in regard to brotherhood.

In various parts of the country special work is being done in the prisons, and in the State prison in San Francisco the Sunday lecture on Theosophy has an average attendance more than four times larger than that of any religious service held in the prison.

But the greatest work that the Theosophical Society in America is doing at the present time lies in this. It is calling attention to points of similarity between different beliefs, instead of to their points of difference; it is insisting that brotherhood is a fact in nature, as well as an ideal condition; it is changing the whole trend of modern thought, guiding it toward a religious science and a scientific religion, and in all other ways it is liberalizing and elevating the minds and the hearts of men.

E. T. HARGROVE.

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THE SKY SCRAPERS OF ROME.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL. D., PH. D.,
F. A. S., ETC.

BUILDINGS for the habitation of citizens in ancient Rome were of two kinds, private houses or palaces for the residence of one family with a more or less copious retinue of servants (*domus*), and lodging houses or tenement houses many stories high and adapted to the reception of several families and of single individuals (*insulæ*). At the time of its greatest development, the city numbered 1,790 palaces, and 46,602 lodging houses, the population being about 1,000,000 souls. These statistics refer to the city limits only, marked approximately by the walls of Aurelian; but the habitations extended beyond the walls for a radius of three miles at least. This suburban belt of houses and lodgings, with gardens and orchards between them, was called the belt of *expatiantia tecta*.

Tenement houses, unknown in villages, very rare in provincial towns (like Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia and Velleia, considerable portions of which have been excavated) were introduced in Rome in 455 B. C., as related by Dionysius:

"The Plebeians agreed to divide among themselves *bona fide* the building lots on the Aventine, each family selecting a space in proportion with the means of which it disposed; but it happened also, that families, not able to build independently, joined in groups of two, three and more, and raised a house in common, one family occupying the ground floors, others the floors above."

This passage throws a considerable light on the history of human habitations in Rome, about which such scanty information has been left by classics. It seems that, from the time the city was built on the Palatine Hill to the reign of the Tarquins, the Romans dwelt in huts, not unlike those which to the present

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day give shelter to the shepherds of the Campagna. They are composed of a framework of timber, or boughs, with thatched walls and conical roofs, and a ring of stones. These are represented with every detail in the so-called *hut-urns*—cinerary vases discovered in the pre-historic cemeteries of Latium and Southern Etruria. In memory of this primitive state of things two huts were preserved in Rome down to the fall of the Empire: the hut of Romulus, otherwise called the cottage of Faustulus, on the Palatine, where the founder of the city had been given shelter and education, and another hut on the Capitoline, where he had been worshipped after his death, as a hero and a demi-god.

A piece of ground, called the ancestral field or the family estate, was attached to each hut, its limits being marked by trees sacred to Terminus or Silvanus. It measured 54,285 square feet, viz., one acre and thirty-nine perches, a space obviously insufficient to support and nourish the family, but very useful as a domestic garden or orchard. It contained also the family tomb.

In spite of the extension of the city limits under Servius Tullius, in consequence of which the whole circuit of the seven hills was included in the new line of walls, space began to have very soon a marketable value. Wealthier citizens built extensions to their houses, like shops furnished with bedrooms, and small apartments for the use of the poorer ones. These groups, composed of the mansion of the landlord and of the cottages and small buildings around them rented to outsiders, were called *insulæ* (islands) because, according to the ancient law, they were surrounded by a narrow strip of free ground, called *ambitus*, isolating them from the neighboring estates.

As long as the prehistoric system of habitations lasted, houses were restricted to the ground floor; but when stones and tiles began to take the place of boughs and boards and thatched roofs, the height of buildings increased. Livy describes Tanaquil addressing the people through the windows from the upper part of the house, but she was a lady of royal birth and the style in which she lived was exceptional.

No better evidence can we get of the fatal law which divides men assembled in cities into a few who possess a large property and many who possess nothing than by the manner the few and the many are lodged. There were hardly eighteen hundred

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families of wealth and rank in old Rome enjoying the luxuries of a palace and of a private mansion, while about one hundred and fifty thousand families were massed in tenement houses hardly fit for human habitation. We know for a fact that the tenement houses were not well built: their foundations were not sunk to the proper depth on account of the swampy nature of the subsoil; their front walls were only a foot and a half thick, and patched up with sun-dried bricks. Such houses were only capable of one story above the ground floor. At the time of Vitruvius, about 15 B. C., their construction had undergone some improvement, thanks to the energetic action of Augustus, who was determined to leave in marble the city which he had found in brick, and thanks also to the increase in the value of space which compelled builders to gain in height what they were losing in surface. Vitruvius describes the new tenement houses as composed of a framework of solid stone with partition walls of brick or concrete, attaining a considerable height, and capable of as many families of tenants as they had floors. Yet, even in the golden age of Augustus, cheap building was not given up altogether. In the inundation of 54 B. C., many houses collapsed because the waters had dissolved the sun-dried bricks of their walls. Augustus was compelled to dredge and clear out the bed of the river because it was choked up by houses which had fallen down. The inundation of 69 A. D. undermined hundreds of houses even in inland quarters; and the Emperor Otho, who was then marching against Vitellius, found his way barred for over twenty miles by the ruins of buildings on either side of the *via Flaminia*. The spontaneous collapse of the tenement houses was such a common occurrence that nobody paid attention to it, an event which would fill our newspapers with a thrilling subject for days and days. The fall of some cottages, attended with loss of life, is related by Cicero as an item hardly worthy of serious remark. Seneca depicts the tenants of popular houses as fearing at the same time to be buried or burnt alive. There were companies formed for the purpose of propping and sustaining "in the air" houses, the foundations of which had to be strengthened.

Jordan, Richter, de Marchi and others have tried to discover in more than one way which was the average size of Roman tenement houses and how many tenants they were capable of containing. Supposing the population to have been 1,000,000, and supposing

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that a private palace counted 100 inmates between masters, servants and slaves, we find that 179,000 people lived in palaces, 821,000 in tenement houses. This would give about 18 tenants for each of the 46,602 houses. As regards their size, Jordan suggests 350 square metres, Richter 282, while de Marchi reminds us that in the oldest quarters of Milan, which have as yet resisted civilization, the area of such houses varies from a minimum of 112 to a maximum of 270 square metres. We must be very careful however, in forming our judgment by comparing modern with ancient cities; as the consequences may be misleading. Many points which we consider now as absolutely necessary to the health and welfare, nay, to the very existence of a city, were considered in by-gone days a matter of luxury, or were perhaps utterly ignored. It is not so very long ago that a municipal law of the city of Milan ordered that no more than fourteen people should sleep in the same room! The problem is very complex, and the figures obtained by comparing our own municipal statistics with those of the *Curiosum* and *Notitia* mean little or nothing. My opinion is that the ignoble quarters which disfigured, and partly disfigure still, the neighborhood of the Ponte Sant-Angelo, of the Ghetto, of the Regola, may be taken as the nearest representatives of the old plebeian quarters of the Subura and of the Transtevere, and I agree with Niebuhr (*Vorträge über Römische alterthumer*, p. 628) when he contends that the houses built three or four hundred years ago in the above-named quarters are good specimens of an old Roman *insula*. The comparison is proved correct, first, by the number of inmates of which they are capable, which varies from 15 to 20; secondly, by their surface not exceeding 200 square metres; thirdly, by their great height in comparison with size; fourthly, by the fact that they contain as many families as there are floors; in the last place, by their resemblance to the celebrated view of a Roman popular street, discovered by Rosa in the house of Germanicus on the Palatine. The fragments of the plan of the city, engraved on marble under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, show many blocks entirely composed of *insulæ* and surrounded by narrow and tortuous streets.

Archæologists have collected the following information as regards house rents in Athens and Rome. In Athens, lodging-houses were let mostly to foreigners who came there on business. Pasion, the banker, had one valued at 100 minas, or 2,000 dol-

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lars. City property, yielding a return of rather more than 8½ per cent. on the purchase money, is mentioned by Isaeus. Boeckh says that rents varied from a minimum of 3 minas, or $60, to a maximum of 120 minas, or $2,400, according to size, location, and comfort of houses. Rents were commonly paid by the month. Lodgings were frequently hired on speculation by persons called ναὶ'κληροι, who made a profit by underletting them, and sometimes for not very reputable purposes. Rents in Rome were equally high, even for a miserable garret. Persons in the lowest conditions of life appear to have paid 2,000 sesterces, or $87.50, at the time of Julius Cæsar. Cœlius is said to have paid 30,000 sesterces, or $1,330, for a third floor in the *insula* of Publius Clodius. Hence, it became a profitable speculation to build or to hire a whole *insula*, or a whole block, and to sublet the *cenacula*, single rooms, or suites, to different tenants, the whole establishment being placed under the care of a manager and collector of rents, called *insularius*. Noblemen, owning a large town property, counted among their clerks a *procurator insularum*.

We come now to the question, to which this paper is especially directed, that of the height of buildings. We must distinguish them in three classes: *insulæ*, palaces, and public buildings. The excessive height of tenement houses is noticed for the first time, I believe, in Cicero, who opposes Rome "suspended in the air," to Capua lying comfortably down in the plains of Campania Felix. Seneca complains of the impunity, which builders of tall tenement houses were allowed to enjoy, because the poor tenants, perched in those heights, had no possible escape from fire or from the collapse of the building itself. We know from Suetonius that Rutilius Lupus, who died about 77 B. C., had written an oration "on the height of public and private buildings," a fact which proves that excesses in this line of speculation had already aroused the suspicions and fears of persons entrusted with the care of public interests. There is no doubt that towards the end of the republic Rome had higher houses than some large modern cities. While the Building act promulgated in Berlin in 1860 admits a maximum height of 36 feet only—provided the street is of the same width—and a greater height only in case the street should be considerably broader; while the Viennese Building act allows 45 feet (four stories at the utmost), and the Parisian 63½ feet, if such or more

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is the breadth of the thoroughfare; in ancient Rome higher figures were allowed with no consideration whatever for the size of the street. Augustus, to make less frequent the occurrence of disasters, limited the height of new houses to 70 roman feet (20.79 metres) at least on the street side, and recited on this occasion the oration of Rutilius Lupus to prove that such a momentous question for the welfare of the city had not been taken into consideration since the time of the republic. This fact proves, first, that the height of 20 metres had been generally surpassed before the time of Augustus; secondly, that the new regulations concerned street fronts only and not the back part of houses opening on yards, alleys, or narrow lanes; thirdly, that they concerned *new* structures alone, and not those already existing.

In spite of the boast attributed to the founder of the Empire, that he would leave built of marble the city which he had found built of bricks, there is no doubt that the crowding, the unhealthiness, the "suffocation," of popular quarters, and their want of air, light, and space, remained very much in the same conditions. The merit of having put an end to this wretched state of things, of having renewed the aspect of the metropolis, altering its plan in accordance with the principles of sanitation and æsthetics, belongs to Nero. He set the whole city into a blaze of fire, and did it so cleverly, that, of the fourteen wards into which Rome had been divided by Augustus, three were annihilated, seven for the greater part destroyed, and yet not a single life was lost in the monstrous conflagration. Severus and Celer, the imperial architects charged with the reconstruction of the city, showed themselves equal to their task. In tracing the new streets and avenues through the smoking ruins, they followed the straight line and the right angle, as far as could be done in a hilly and deeply furrowed region. Hasty and irregular constructions were forbidden; large squares opened, in place of filthy and densely inhabited quarters, and the height of private houses limited, it seems, to the double of the width of the street. Porticoes were to be built in front of each dwelling to give the passer-by protection from rain and from heat; lastly, wooden ceilings were excluded, at least, from the lower stories, and isolation of houses on every side made compulsory.

A new building act fixing the height of tenement houses at 60 feet (17.93 metres) was issued by Trajan. This incessant renewal

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of regulation after regulation shows how little respect speculators paid to them; and, besides, the imperial ordinances concerned, as I said, only the front of houses, not their interior parts opening on courtyards or alleys. No doubt, these back sections attained a greater height. Martial speaks of a poor man, a neighbor, who had to mount two hundred steps (*ducentas scalas*, viz., *gradus*) to reach his garret. Giving to each step 0.15m., that garret must have been perched 30 meters, or 100 feet, above the level of the street; but Martial uses perhaps a hyperbolic expression. The same poet uses the expression, "*scalis habito tribus, sed altis*," "I live in the third floor, *but* high above ground," which seems to indicate that ceilings must have hung very low in ordinary lodging houses (rooms have been found at Pompeii only 1.95 metres high); Juvenal mentions the case of a fire which had already attained the third floor of a building, without being noticed by the poor tenants living in the topmost stories under the roof. Tertullian compares the numberless stories of a tenement house to the "zones" of heaven imagined by the Gnostics. An inscription discovered on October 8, 1819, opposite the church of S. Eligio dei Ferrari (near the Piazza della Consolazione) describes a tenement house belonging to a Sertorius, as composed of ten shops and six floors above. We must remember, furthermore, that the maximum height was allowed by law independently from the breadth of the street, so that in this respect Rome must be placed far behind the large modern cities. While in Berlin the medium width of all the streets is 22 metres, that of the principal living streets in Rome reached only from 5 to 6 metres, inferior to the Parisian minimum of 7.80 metres, yet while in such cases the Parisians can only raise their structures 11.90 metres above the level of the street, the Romans were permitted to reach three times that height.

We must not wonder too much at such a condition of things. There are actually in Rome, in Rome the rejuvenated capital of the Kingdom of Italy, two important thoroughfares, one measuring *eight feet* between the *palazzo Muti* and the *palazzo della fabbrica de S. Pietro*, so that hardly a ray of light can force its way between the eaves of their roofs, the other *ten feet* between the church of la Maddalena and the opposite tenement houses. Pliny says that no city in the world surpasses Rome if the height of houses was also taken into consideration. Juvenal calls the

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housetops "sublime," and says that the windows are apt to give the vertigo. In justice to Rome, we must also remark that houses three and four stories high are mentioned in Babylon by Herodotus, four to five in Naples by Philostratos, six in Carthage by Appianus, eight in Motya by Diodōrus. The houses of Tyre were higher than those of Rome. The emperor Zeno, referring to an older building act of Leo, which fixed at 100 feet the maximum of height of houses in course of reconstruction after a fire, extended the privilege to all new structures, provided they would be separated one from the other in every direction by an interval of 100 feet. The law admitted, however, one exception, that no one could take away from his neighbor the view of the sea. So far as regards the tenement houses.

Palaces and private mansions may be left aside, because, as a rule, they were but one story high above the ground floor. The imperial palace makes an exception to the rule. The wing built by Caligula at the north corner of the Palatine hill, overlooking the Forum, rose one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the *Nova via*, which street was only twelve feet across! The palace of Septimius Severus, at the opposite corner of the hill, rose one hundred and eighty feet above the level of the *via Triumphalis*.

Public edifices were built on an equally grand scale. Let me mention but one, the Temple of the Sun erected by Aurelian, after his conquest of Palmyra, in that part of the Quirinal which is now occupied by the Villa Colonna. Its columns measured 1.95 metres in diameter, 17.66 metres in height, not including the capital, which alone measured 2.47 metres. The entablature measured 4.83, and was composed of blocks of marble 5 metres long: total height of order, 26 metres; of temple, including steps, pediment, and acroteria, 35 metres; to which we must add the height of the cliff on the edge of which the temple rose. *The Cælii Saturnini*, who lived at the foot of the cliff in a noble mansion discovered in 1854 (under the *palazzo Filippani, piazza della Pilotta*), must have seen the chariot of the god glittering in the morning sun two hundred feet above their heads.

The reader may ask at this point why, in treating the subject I have only brought forward the evidence of classics, and not that of personal experience, and of actual discoveries made in Rome in the course of the last quarter of a century. The fact is

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that no *insulæ* have been found which could be excavated systematically; and even if they had been found we could only have studied their ground plan, not their elevation. The *insula Sertoriana,* opposite the church of S. Eligio dei Ferrari, has never been excavated, the only portion discovered being two shop doors opening on the public street. The *insula Bolaniana,* discovered March, 1743, in the foundations of the monastery of S. Pasquale Baylon Erastevere, was also left unexplored, the only part described being the well which occupied the centre of the court. A third *insula* named *Vitaliana* was found in the spring of last year near the apse of St. Pietro, in Viricoli, under circumstances that made a search impossible without damage to the houses above. The only fact that I can point out to specialists interested in this question is this: In describing the attack made by the partisans of Vitellius on those of Vespasian, who had entrenched themselves in the Capitolium, Tacitus distinctly affirms that the roofs of houses which surrounded the sacred hill were level with the platform of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The platform of the temple, still visible in the gardens of the Caffarelli palace, now occupied by the German embassy, rises 31 metres above the level of the ancient street which skirts the foot of the cliffs on the north side; therefore, the houses built against the cliffs were at least 31 metres high. The account of Tacitus is confirmed by existing ruins. Near the apse of the church of *la beata Rita, via Giulio Romano,* there are remains of an *insula,* of which only four stories are left standing, one-half perhaps of the original number. That *insula* when perfect must have reached the level of the *arx* now represented by the church of the Aracoeli.

Such are the facts connected with the momentous question of height of buildings in ancient cities. The Romans went undoubtedly beyond the line; but they had at least two excuses in their favor. The first is alluded to by Tacitus in describing the reconstruction of the city after the fire of Nero, with large avenues, and large streets crossing each other at a right angle, lined with houses of moderate height; when he says that in cities of southern latitudes (and subject to malaria) shade is more agreeable and desirable than the fiery rays of the sun; and that the health of the inhabitants in malarious regions is favored by agglomeration more than by dissemi-

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nation over a large area.* The second excuse lies in the want of proper means of locomotion from one part of the city to the other. It makes very little difference to a Londoner to live miles away from his club, from his office, from his shop, because he can reach his destination quickly, comfortably, and at a cheap price at all hours of day and night. The old Romans, on the contrary, had no means of contending with distances; therefore they increased the height of their *insulæ* in the central quarters instead of building new ones in the outlying districts.

Far be from me the idea of entering into discussion about the monstrous creations of the *fin de siècle* domestic architecture in some American cities. Our ideas respecting the right of landowners to do what they please with their property, are very different in old Europe from what they are in the United States. We believe that state, counties, cities have the right of protecting themselves against individuals who, in the exercise of their rights of possession, offend the principles of public welfare, sanitation, comfort, æsthetics. I remember discussing once with a distinguished congressman the question of the preservation of forests and timber and woodlands. I gave him a summary of our protective laws, and described the appalling losses which Italy had suffered by disregarding them in the course of the last fifty years; mountains stripped of their coat of *humus*, and reduced to a bare mass of rocks; springs dried up, and large tracts of land made desolate and barren; inundations made more frequent and sudden; the price of timber and charcoal doubled, and so forth. While admitting these facts, and the necessity of protection of forests in the name of public interest, my friend expressed the conviction that no American citizen would ever tolerate government or state interference with his rights of property, and that none could prevent the owner of a forest from destroying it if he chose to do it. Yet I cannot see the reason why you could not prevent your neighbor from taking away from your house or from the street in which you live the essential rights of light and air, and why citizens in general should not object to see their cities disfigured by beehives 300 feet high.

The experience through which Rome has passed since her transformation into the capital of united Italy, tells a decidedly

* In the city of the Popes the healthiest district was the overcrowded and the overbuilt Ghetto, in which six thousand Jews were massed in houses of exceptional height.

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interesting tale. The fever of speculation in building lands which broke out about 1878, after the promulgation of the *Piano regolatore*, could not possibly be got under control, because while the *Piano* provided for the regulation of *space*, it contained no rules about *height*. The consequences were: First, that *space*, the only commodity which the good Lord had given us unlimited, owing to the location of the city in the middle of the great Campagna, became ridiculously valuable. In 1885 the Bocconi Brothers paid for the site of their modest stores on the Corso 1,150,000 francs! Secondly, that, in order to secure an interest on the purchase money, the speculators piled story upon story, surpassing sometimes the height of 100 and 120 feet. The municipality stopped the evil in 1888, when part of the city had already been disfigured by these uncanny barracks; yet better late than never. The act of 1888 which fixes the maximum of height of houses at one and a half the width of the street, brought to a sudden standstill the building speculation. The interests of the few were damaged, but the health, the general aspect, the comfort of the city permanently secured.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

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DREAMS AND THEIR MYSTERIES.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

LIFE-LONG familiarity with the astonishing phenomena of sleep, with the trooping phantoms inhabiting the dusk realms of slumber, has so dulled wonder at the mystery of our double existence of the dark, that night after night, with calm incuriousness we open the door into that ghostly under-world, and hold insane revels with fantastic spectres, weep burning tears for empty griefs, babble with foolish laughter at witless jests, stain our souls with useless crime, or fly with freezing blood from the grasp of an unnamed dread; and, with the morning, saunter serenely back from these wild adventures into the warm precincts of the cheerful day, unmoved, unstartled, and forgetting.

Prove that you have the hypnotic power to make a man feel pain or pleasure without material cause, that you can force him to believe himself a soldier, say, or a woman, or that he is three feet high, or two persons at once, and he will gape upon this occult mastery with awe and wild surprise—he, who every twenty-four hours of his life, with no more magic potion than healthy fatigue, with no greater wonder-working weapon than a pillow, may create for himself phantasmical delusions beside which all mesmeric suggestions are but the flattest of dull commonplace.

The naïve egotism of superstition, which saw in the majestic movements of the solar system only prognostications concerning its own bean crop, could discern nothing more in this dream-world than the efforts of the supernatural powers to communicate (in their usual shuffling, incompetent fashion) the events of the future to man—that sole centre and concern of the universe. The modern revolt from this childish-

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ness has swung the pendulum of interest so far up the other curve of the arc, that there prevails a foolish fear of attaching any meaning or importance whatever to the strange experiences of sleep, and an unscientific avoidance of the whole topic which is no less superstitious and puerile. The consequence of which foolish revulsion has been that one of the most curious functions of the brain is still, in a period of universal investigation, left unexamined and unexplained. Some dabbling there has been in the matter, but so far no tenable explanation has been offered of those strange illusions of sleep with which all mankind is familiar. The results up to this time of this dabbling are for the most part of little more value than the contents of the greasy, well-thumbed dream-books that formed the only and dearly beloved library of eighteenth century milkmaids and apprentices. The greater portion of such labor as has been bestowed on the subject has been mainly directed toward efforts to prove the extreme rapidity with which the dream passes through the mind and that it is some trivial outward cause, at the moment of rousing from slumber, such as a noise, a light, or the like, which wakes the brain to this miraculous celerity of imaginative creation. The general conviction that dreams occur only at the instant of awakening shows how little real attention has been bestowed upon the matter, since the most casual observation of "the dog that hunts in dreams" would show that he may be chasing the wild deer and following the roe in the grey Kingdom of Seeming without breaking his slumbers. He will start, and twitch and give tongue after the phantom quarry he dreams himself pursuing, and yet continue his sleep without an interval. But given the truth of any one of these assertions, still the heart of the mystery has not yet been plucked out, since it is not explained why a noise or gleam of light—such as the senses are quite familiar with in waking consciousness—should, at the moment of rousing, cause the brain to create with inconceivable rapidity a series of phantasmagoria in order to explain to itself the familiar phenomena of light or sound.

Dr. Friedrich Scholz, Director of the insane asylum at Bremen, in his recent volume upon "Sleep and Dreams," gives an example of this rapid effort of the brain to deal with the sensations felt by the sleeping body: "I dreamed of the Reign of Terror, saw scenes of blood and murder, appeared before the Revolutionary

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Tribunal, saw Robespierre, Marat, Fouquier-Tinville, all the personages of that time of horrors, argued with them, was finally after a number of occurrences condemned to death, was carried to the place of execution on a cart through enormous masses of people, ascended the scaffold, was bound by the executioner to the board. The knife fell, and I felt my head severed from my body. Thereupon I awoke and found that a loosened rod of the bed had fallen on my neck like the knife of the guillotine, and this had happened, my mother assured me, at the very moment when I awoke."

That the mind should, merely because of the body's sleep, be able to create a whole scene of a terrible drama with a rapidity impossible when all the functions are awake and active, is incredible. The only function of the brain capable of this lightning-like swiftness of vision is *memory*. To create requires a certain effort and consumes a certain period of time, but a scene once beheld, an adventure once experienced and vividly impressed upon the memory, can be recalled in its minutest detail in a lapse of time not reckonable by any of our methods.

That the sensitive plate of the brain never loses any *clear* picture once received has been proved over and over again, beyond the possibility of a doubt. The picture, the sensation, may be overlaid and hidden for long periods beneath the heaps of useless lumber that the days and years accumulate in the mind's storehouse, but need, or accident, or a similarity of circumstance, will restore the forgotten possession, oftentimes with startling effect. There is a well-authenticated instance of a girl who, during an attack of febrile delirium, spoke in a language that no one about her could understand, and which was finally discovered to be Welsh. The patient, both before and after her illness, knew but a single word of the language. No one could explain the matter until finally it was found that she had been born in Wales, and as a child had learned the language, but had afterwards entirely forgotten it.

It is commonly known, too, how in the struggle of the body against death by water the memory, stirred to furious effort also, reproduces all her stores at once, possibly in a frantic endeavor to find some experience which may be of use in this crisis.

It is broadly asserted by many that the memory retains each and every experience which life has presented for its contempla-

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tion, but this is hardly true. It makes to a certain extent a choice, and chooses oftentimes with apparent caprice. To demonstrate the truth of this, let one endeavor to recall the first impression retained by his childish mind and it usually proves to be something extremely trivial. A lady, interrogated as to this, declared her first clear memory was a sense of the comfort to her tired little two-year-old body of the clean linen sheets of the bed at the end of a most perilous and adventurous journey, of whose startling incidents her memory had preserved nothing. Again this capricious faculty will seize upon some few high lights in a vivid picture and reject all the unimportant details. As a rule, however, it is the profound stirrings of the emotions which wakes the memory to activity. A woman never forgets her first lover. A man to the end of his life can recall his first triumph, or his most imminent danger, and a trifle will often, after the lapse of half a century, fill the eye with tears, make the cheek to burn, or the heart to beat with the power of the long-passed emotion, preserved living and fresh by the memory.

That the memory uses in sleep the material it has gathered during the day, and during the whole life, no dreamer will deny; but here again it is capricious; some parts of the day's—the life's—experiences are used, others rejected. Added to these natural and explainable possessions of the memory, are a mass of curious, conflicting, tangled thoughts, which are foreign to our whole experience of existence, and which, when confused with our own memories, makes of our nights a wild jumble of useless and foolish pictures. If it be true that it is by some outward impression upon the senses that dreams are evoked, that it is the endeavors of the somnolent mind to explain to itself the meaning of a noise, a light, a blow, which creates that delusion we call dreams, then it is not upon the stores of our own memories alone that the brain draws for material, since the falling rod awoke in the mind of Dr. Scholz's dreamer a picture of the French revolution, which he had never seen, and different in detail and vividness from any picture his reading had furnished.

Heredity is an overworked jade, too often driven in double harness with a hobby, but the link between generation and generation is so strong and so close that none may lightly tell all the strands of which it is woven, nor from whence were spun the threads that tie us to the past. It is very certain, despite the

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theories of Weismann, that the acquired characteristics of the parent may be transmitted to the child. The boy whose father walked the quarter-deck is, nine times out of ten, as certain to head for salt water as a sea-gull born in a hen's nest. The victim of ill-fortune and prisoner of despair who breaks the jail of life to escape fate's malice leaves a dark tendency in the blood of his offspring, which again and again proves the terrible power of an inherited weakness. Women who lose their minds or become clouded in thought at childbirth—though they come of a stock of *mens sana*—transmit the blight of insanity to their sons and daughters both ; and not only consumptive weakness and the appetite for drink are acquired in a lifetime and then handed on for generations, but preferences, talents, manners, personal likeness—all may be the wretched burden or happy gift handed down to the son by the father. Who then may say without fear of contradiction that the memories of passions and emotions that stirred those dead hearts to their centre may not be a part of our inheritance ? The setting, the connection, is gone, but the memory of the emotion remains. Such and such nerves have quivered violently for such or such a cause—the memory stores and transmits the impression, and a similar incident sets them tingling again, though two generations lie between.

Certainly animals possess very distinctly these inherited memories. A young horse never before beyond the paddock and stables will fall into a very passion of fear when a serpent crosses his path, or when driven upon a ferry to cross deep swift water. He is entirely unfamiliar with the nature of the danger, but at some period one of his kind has sweated and throbbed in hideous peril, and the memory remains after the lapse of a hundred years. He, no more than ourselves, can recall all the surrounding circumstances of that peril, but the threatening aspect of a similar danger brings memory forward with a rush to use her stored warning. When the migrating bird finds its way without difficulty, untaught and unaccompanied, to the South it has never seen, we call its guiding principle instinct—but what is the definition of the word instinct ? No man can give it. It but removes the difficulty one more step backward. Call this instinct an inherited memory and the matter becomes clear at once. Such memories, it is plain, are more definite with the animals than with us ; but so are many of their faculties, hearing, smell, and sight.

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Everyone has felt many times in his life a sense of familiarity with incidents that have had no place in his own experience, and has found it impossible to offer any explanation for the feeling. Coming suddenly around a turn of a hill upon a fair and unknown landscape, his heart may bound with a keen sense of recognition of its unfamiliar outlines. In the midst of a tingling scene of emotion, a sensation of the whole incident being a mere dull repetition will rob it of its joy or pain. A sentence begun by a friend is recognized as trite and old before it is half done, though it refers to matters new to the hearer. A sound, a perfume, a sensation, will awaken feelings having no connection with the occasion.

A visitor for the first time to a tropical country was charmed with the excessive novelty of everything about him; but suddenly one evening, being carried home in his chair by the coolie bearers, a flood of recognition poured over him like the waves of the sea, and for a few minutes the illusion was so strong as to leave him breathless with astonishment. He had the sense of having often done this before. The warm night, the padding of the bare feet in the dusk, the hot smell of leaves, were all an old trite experience. For days he struggled with that tormenting sense, with which we are all familiar, of being unable to recall a something, a name, that is perfectly well known—is "on the tip of the tongue," as one says—but all in vain; and in time the recognition grew fainter and more elusive with each effort to grasp it, until it slipped forever away into darkness. If such experiences as these are not inherited memories, what are they?

With sleep, the will becomes dormant. Waking, it guards and governs; chooses what we shall do and be and think; stands sentinel over the mind and rejects all comers with which it is not familiar. Unless the thought comes from within the known borders of the body's own life, the will will have none of it. But overtaken by fatigue and sinking into slumber with the night, his domain is left fenceless and unpatrolled, for with the will goes his troop of watchmen, judgment, logic, deliberation, ethics; and memory, ungoverned, and uncontrolled, holds a feast of misrule. The barrier between past and present melts away; all his ancestors are merged into the individual; the events of the day are inextricably tangled with those of two centuries since, and this motley play of time is called a dream.

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A man going back but to his great grandparents has already fourteen direct progenitors and is heir of such strange or striking episodes of their fourteen lives as were sufficiently deeply impressed upon their memories to be transmittable. This alone is enough, one would think, to provide all the nights with material for the queer kaleidoscopic jumbling of leavings, with which the nimble mind diverts itself while its sluggish comrade snores, turning over the leaves of its old picture book alone in the dark, but there is no reason to believe that there is a limit to these inheritances.

One dreamer relates that the most vivid sensation her night memory holds is of finding herself standing alone, high up in a vast arena. It is open to the sky and the night is falling swiftly and warm. Everyone has gone but herself, but there is a tremulous sensation in her mind, as of very recent excitement, noise, and tumult. She is waiting for someone who is coming through the arched door on the left, and she rises to go. She feels the rough coolness of the stone beneath her hand as she helps herself to rise, and upon her throat and bosom she has a sensation of the light wool of her garment. It has the vivid familiarity of a personal and perfectly natural experience—so strong that, waking, she retains as keen a sense of it as if it was a happening of yesterday. This dreamer, whose night visions are many and of great vividness, remembers many more dreams of this type—momentary flashes of sensation of the trivial things about her, such as all persons have felt in their waking lives, only that the things about her in her dreams are totally unfamiliar to her waking brain. In one of these she is emerging from the back door of a small white house—intensely white in the glare of a fierce sun. The house seems square and flat-topped, built of stone and with no windows visible here in the rear. It opens on a narrow street of similar residences. A man is with her, dressed in a long black robe and wearing a curious black head-dress. He is reproaching her and remonstrating violently concerning her indifference in regard to religious matters. She looks away—annoyed and bored by his vehemence—and the whole picture vanishes. It was as clear, as natural and familiar as her own waking life, while it lasted. . . . The narrow street of white houses seemed the only possible form for a street—she had no consciousness of anything different or more modern. The man's

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eager, stern face, with the heavy beard and the high head-dress looked in no way strange or unfamiliar. With that double consciousness with which we are all familiar when awake, she watched the movement of his lips and the wagging of his beard as he talked, full of a sense of distaste, and thought, while listening to his flow of clear words, "How tiresome these religious men are!"

Another dreamer—again a woman—was aware of standing in the dark, sword in hand (she seemed to be a man and the seeming was not strange to her), listening with furious pulses to a confusion of clashing blades and stamping of feet. Under the surface of passionate excitement the deeper sub-consciousness said: "All is lost! The conspiracy is a failure!" She was aware of a cool bravado which recognized the uselessness of attempting escape. The dice had been thrown—they had turned up wrong, that was all. Yet so vigorous and so courageous was the heart of this man that he was still buoyantly unafraid. There was a rush of bodies by him; the door swung back against him, crushing him to the wall, and a few moments later, under guard, he was passing through a long, low corridor of stone. The torches showed the groined arch above him, and, a cell being unlocked, for the first time he felt afraid. Inside was a big bear with a collar about its neck, and two villainous faced mountebanks sat surlily upon the floor. The man was very much afraid at the thought of such companions, for his hands were tied and he had no sword—yet he reasoned jovially with his guards, not wishing to show his real terror. After some protests his sword was returned to him and he stepped inside, again cheerfully confident. The door clanged to behind him and the dream faded. All the conditions of the dream, the change of sex, the strange clothes and faces, the arched corridor, the men with the bear, seemed to the senses of the sleeping woman perfectly natural. They were quite commonplace, and of course. For the most part however, her dreams are the fantastic hodge-podge common to dreamers, such as might result from the unsorted, unclassified memories of a thousand persons flung down in a heap together and grasped without choice. One curious fact she has noted is that though she is a wide and omnivorous reader, she has never had a dream or impression in sleep which might not have been part of the experience of some one of European or American an-

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cestry. She is an ardent reader of travel and adventure, but never has she imagined herself in Africa, nor have the landscapes of her dreams been other than European or American.

Mr. Howells, in "True I Talk of Dreams," added confirmation on this point by saying that he had never been able to discover a dreamer who had seen in his dreams a dragon or any such beast of impossible proportions.

It suggests itself—*en passant*—that dragons and other such "fearful wild fowl" are not uncommon in the cataclysmic visions of delirium, but perhaps the potency of fever, of drugs, of alcohol, or of mania may open up deeps of memory, of primordial memory, that are closed to the milder magic of sleep. The subtle poison in the grape may gnaw through the walls of Time and give the memory sight of those terrible days when we wallowed—nameless shapes—in the primæval slime. Who knows whether Alexander the Great, crowning himself with the gold of Bedlam's straws, may not be only forgetful of the years that gape between him and his kingly Macedonian ancestor. Ah, Horatio! does your philosophy plumb all the mysteries of life and of heredity?

Another interesting fact, in this connection, elicited by extensive and persistent inquiry, is that those who come of a class who have led narrow and uneventful lives for generations dream but little, and that dully and without much sensation; while the children of adventurous and travelled ancestors—men and women whose passions have been profoundly stirred—have their nights filled with the movement "of old forgotten far-off things and battles long ago." Again, inquiry has elicited the fact that many persons, while hovering on the borders of sleep, but still vaguely conscious, are accustomed to see pictures of all manner of disconnected things—many of them scenes or faces which have never had part in their waking life—drifting slowly across the darkness of the closed lid like the pictures of a magic lantern across a sheet stretched to receive them, and these, by undiscernable gradations, lead the sleeper away into the land of dreams, the dim treasure house of memory and the past.

If a dream is a memory, then the stories of their momentary duration are easily credible. The falling rod upon the sleeper's neck might recall, as by a lightning flash, some scene in the Red Terror in which his ancestor participated—an ancestor so nearly allied, perhaps, to the victim suffering under the knife as to

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know all the agonies vicariously, and leave the tragedy bitten into his memory and his blood forever.

When the words heredity or instinct are contemplated in their broad sense they mean no more than inherited memory. The experiences of many generations teach the animal its proper food and methods of defence. The fittest survive because they have inherited most clearly the memories of the best means of securing nourishment and escaping enemies. The marvellous facility gradually acquired by artisans who for generations practice a similar craft is but the direct transmission of the brain's treasures.

In sleep the brain is peculiarly active in certain directions, not being distracted by the multitude of impressions constantly conveyed to it by the five senses, and experiments with hypnotic sleepers prove that some of its functions become in sleep abnormally acute and vigorous. Why not the function of memory? The possessions which during the waking hours were useless, and therefore rejected by the will, surge up again, vivid and potent, and troop before the perception unsummoned, motley and fantastic; serving no purpose more apparent than do the idle, disconnected recollections of one's waking moments of dreaminess —and yet it may hap, withal, that the tireless brain, forever turning over and over its heirlooms in the night, is seeking here an inspiration or there a memory to be used in that fierce and complex struggle called Life.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

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ENVIRONMENT AND MAN IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY N. S. SHALER.

CERTAIN words and phrases which were invented by naturalists to denote matters connected with the history of organic species have been taken over by the students of society, and used to denote actions which they presume to be essentially like those to which the words were first applied. In this way such terms as natural selection, environment, atavism, etc., have become current in fields where their significance is doubtful. In this as in other cases there is always danger that the imported word becomes what Bentham well called "a question-begging epithet," for the reason that it has a connotation which, though true in its original use, is false in its secondary application. Thus it is with *environment*. As used by botanists and zoölogists, it had a much more limited and definite meaning than it has come to possess in the very complicated affairs of human society, where it is used to designate not only the assemblage of physical influences but those of an intellectual and moral nature as well. As the word is of great value, as it denotes a range of actual or supposed influences which are of the utmost importance, it may be well to examine into the limitations which we should place upon it in its transformed state. For this purpose I have selected the district of New England, which, more than any other known to me, affords a satisfactory territory for the discussion of this question.

The advantages of New England as a field for an inquiry into the influences of environment are in general as follows: the country has been long inhabited by the people of our race, long enough at least, for an immediate effect of the surroundings to become evident; its physical conditions are well known; the people have attained a high degree of differentiation as to em-

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ployments; the opportunities of comparing the folk with the ancestral stock beyond the sea are more than usually good. In fact, if there be anywhere a chance to determine the value of physical conditions in the development of peoples, we may expect to find it here.

In considering the matter, we should in the first place note that New England is much more like Old England than is any other part of America; this likeness is shown in many ways. To begin with, the surface of the country, unlike that of the continent in general, is extremely diversified; it has indeed the localized character of surface soil and in a measure of climate which we find in Great Britain. When as a young man I came from the tableland of Kentucky to study in New England, I remarked to the elder Agassiz that impression of relatively great variety which this seaboard country made upon me. He said that the area seemed to him essentially like that of the old world in that it had an exceedingly diversified character.

Between the mountains of New Hampshire and Vermont and the lowlands of Southeastern Massachusetts there are as great differences in conditions as are found in Great Britain, in passing from the Highlands of Scotland to the plains of Norfolk. In the area of almost any county of the six New England States we discover a range of soil-conditions extending from the arid pastures of the thinly covered rocky uplands to the swamps of the valleys, or it may be the marine marshes of the seashore. Everywhere there is lacking the consolidated character of the inner part, the centre, of this continent. Thus in New England the colonists found a fair semblance of much with which they were familiar in their native land, so that we cannot expect to discern among the influences of environment any effects which would be immediately due to the change in the matter of soil, climate or shape of the country. There are, it is true, noteworthy variations in all these features, the range of temperature is greater, the seasons vary somewhat in their order and accent, the rainfall is otherwise distributed than in Great Britain, but there is no such variation as could fairly be expected to stamp itself upon the people.

Turning now to the conditions which from their nature are likely to have a shaping influence upon the population of New England, we find at once a number of physical features

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which not directly but in a secondary way have had a great effect upon the character of the population. Taking these in their natural order, we may begin with the subterranean stores of mineral wealth of the district. In this subterranean field we find extremely limited resources. From the first settlement to the present day the result of explorations has been to turn the minds of the people away from the occupations of the mine, from that generally delusive and usually disastrous expectation that fortune was to be won by finding precious metals. In later days stone quarries and occasional veins of pyrite and other ores have opened the way to profit, but these are matters of modern times. The early people were by the structure of the country turned away from the underground realm. Even in this day of accurate and untiring search for mineral resources, this part of the continent remains without discovered basis for extensive mining industries. When we note the evils which the search for the precious metals has brought upon other colonies, we may regard the sterility of the under-earth as one of the good fortunes of New England, as one of those negative blessings which often count for much in the life of peoples.

The soil of New England is, on the whole, not unlike that of Wales and Scotland. It yields the same crops, in rather scantier measure; as in those more rugged parts of the mother country, not more than one-half the area is or can be made in any way fit for the plow. Like as are the conditions of the earth in the old land and the new, there were certain circumstances of contact which were peculiar, and which were very effective in determining the history of the people. The whole of New England has been in a remarkable way affected by the action of the ice and water of the last glacial period. Although the same calamitous period affected the British Isles as well, the diversity of actions there was much less than on the western side of the Atlantic. In the old world region the effect of the visitation, so far as the soil is concerned, was, in the main, to leave a tolerably deep covering of what is commonly termed till or boulder clay upon the surface, which, though rather bouldery, is generally brought under tillage without much difficulty. In New England the division of the surface was usually into very stony fields, where it required from fifty to two hundred days of labor to bring about a good tilth, and into sandy areas, where the soil was ready for

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the plow as soon as the forest had been cleared away, and decay had removed the roots of the trees. These two classes of soils are of such importance in the economic development of this area that their origin should be understood.

The till or boulder clay element in this and other countries is made up of a confused mixture of clay, sand, pebbles, and boulders, which became commingled with the ice as it moved forward in its slow but energetic movement. This debris descended upon the surface of the earth where the ice melted away, and has remained where it came to rest. While this till is the prevailing surface material of New England, a large part of the area is occupied by a very different deposit, formed at the same time mainly in front of the slowly retreating ice fields. This commonly takes on the character of sandy plains which are often curiously pitted. These plains were formed by the rivers which emerged from beneath the ice, carrying with them great quantities of comminuted rock, clay, sand, and pebbles; the coarser part of this debris was deposited near the front of the glacier in the form of deltas, the finer mud being carried away to the seas. These deltas of the ancient glacial rivers are inconsiderable in area in northern New England, but they continually increase in extent to the southward, until in the region south of Boston and east of Providence they occupy more than three-fourths of the surface. Besides these two groups of accumulations which afford materials for soil, there is a third consisting of the boulders and other lesser fragments which were shoved forward by the advancing ice in the brief periods when the prevailing retreat was interrupted by slight advances, or which were dropped at the front when for a time the glacial deposit remained with its outer face in one place. These moraines are infrequent and have played no important part in human affairs. They are of no agricultural account.

The soils formed on and of the till deposits in New England are in almost all cases of very fair fertility; they are moreover singularly enduring to tillage. There is, however, the singular difficulty connected with them that they are strewn over and filled with boulders to such an extent that a vast amount of labor has to be expended on them before they can be tilled. This condition is due to the fact that in this part of the world the bed rocks are very much jointed, so that the ice in dragging over their

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surfaces rent an amazing number of fragments from their places and bore them on in its course. When the original settlers came to this country they found every part of these naturally fertile lands defended against the encroachments of man by a singularly perfect armor. To win an acre to the uses of husbandry demanded an expenditure not only of the serious labor required in clearing away the forest, but the yet greater toil needed in placing the boulders of movable size in stone walls and in burying many others in deep pits. It is true that in the northern parts of Great Britain the earth had borne in its original state a similar though less extensive encumberment of stones, but there in the slow advance of man toward civilization centuries had been devoted to this task of clearing the land; here the burden came at once upon a folk who had all the needs of civilized man with little more command of capital and of resources in the way of labor than their ancestors of two thousand years ago. The result was that the European colonists had to betake themselves at once to the second class soils, the sandy plains which abound in the shoreland district of this area—thus violating the general rule that the better lands of a country are the first to be occupied and tilled.

The sand plains of the New England district, indeed of all countries where they are found, afford but sterile soils. They are in the main made up of arenaceous material which contains but little food for plants. Although with the modern resources of artificial manures they are coming again into cultivation, the experience of the early settlers was to the effect that, while these fields had the merit of being tolerably free from the vexatious boulders, they had no other advantage. Gradually, in the main, after a century or so of bitter experience with the unprofitable deltas of the glacial rivers, the soil tillers began to win with exceeding toil the better earth from its envelope of boulders. Some work of this kind appears to have been done in the first half century after the settlement, but so far as I can learn from the imperfect sources of information at my command, little had been accomplished before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The mark of the first adjustment remains in the sites of the original agricultural villages and farmsteads, which in almost all cases where they were founded in the seventeenth century are upon the open sandy fields.

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The effect of these soil conditions in New England was quickly to turn the attention of the enterprising colonists away from any expectation of winning wealth from the earth; the general understructure had denied them mineral resources, the state of the surface made it evident that they would not, like the colonists further south, look to agricultural resources as the basis of commercial success. In fact, though there was from time to time some small outgoings of field products, New England never succeeded in doing much more than supply its own demands, in the way of food such as the fields of the land afford.

Baffled in the effort to found success on the subterranean or the soil resources of the country, the New Englanders quickly turned their attention to the fisheries. In this realm of the seas, the same geological events which had deprived the land of its fertility gave an excellent opportunity for profit. The irregular, usually bouldery, waste formed by the glacial actions extends far beyond the limits of the shore; it creates at many points extensive shallows, such as George's Bank, which affords the best natural feeding grounds for the food fishes, which have been in such large measure the basis of the commercial prosperity of the country. A bouldery field above the plane of the ocean is poor ground for the nurture of anything that man can turn to profit; from that level downward to a depth of one hundred fathoms, a surface of this nature is admirably suited for the development of a marine life; it is especially fitted to support and attract the cod fish, the creature which was the pilot of the New Englanders to their first commercial prosperity. Fortunately, these fishing grounds, the product of glaciation, abound along the seashores of New England, are very extensive, and lie near a great number of harbors, which, though shallow for modern ships, afforded ample room for fishing vessels. The forests, moreover, abounded in excellent timber for building ships. Thus, though the colonists were not to any considerable extent from the seafaring folk of the old country, they shortly were led, we may say driven, by their necessities, to seek gain beyond the shore.

The industry of fishing was naturally the first step toward the larger enterprises of the sea. This industry was from the start successful. The blessed cod, perhaps the best good fish of all the known tenants of the ocean, was found in great numbers; it was readily taken; its flesh was savory and so easily cured that it

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will keep for years. There was an almost unlimited market for the product of the fisheries in the more southern plantations of the continent, where a soil more easily won was yielding a great though temporary profit to the colonists. From the cod to the whale fishery was an easy transition, and the two combined made the best possible foundations for the marine commerce which grew up among the people after they had been trained in seafaring in the most natural way through the art of fishing. In this largest part of the sailor's work the development was again in the same way as with the fisheries, but in even greater measure, favored by the very many good harbors that exist along the shore, and which are due also to glacial action. For the ships of the last century the New England coast afforded the greatest number of good havens that exist in any part of the American coast where the other conditions permitted settlement. These natural ports are very accessible, they usually carry deep waters to their shores. They are not much encumbered with ice, the back country abounds in construction woods such as the ship carpenter demands, and also afforded a fair supply of the food stores required for voyages. Thus the environment led the shore line folk of this district straight forth to the sea and stamped a large part of its people with the admirable and enduring mark of that peculiar culture. Although there are no accurate data for determination, it appears likely that, in the two centuries from 1650 to 1850, somewhere near one-fourth of the population of this district were distinctly influenced by the maritime life which had become the basis of its prosperity.

The same conditions of soil which in a way compelled the New Englanders to essay fortune upon the sea led them in another direction of endeavor which has proved in its effects more lasting. The glacial event, as we have already noticed, covered the surface of the earth with a prevailingly deep deposit of very porous material; this of itself gives the streams an uncommon steadfastness of flow. Moreover, the drift is laid on in a very irregular manner so that it forms a multitude of depressions all of which were originally lakes, though the greater number of them have now been converted into bogs or swamps; these basins still further retard the flow of the water to the sea, delivering the rain fall in a gradual and tolerably constant manner. Furthermore, the country is tolerably elevated, so that the aggregate of available power that may be won

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from the streams is very great. The value of these sources of energy for mill use was easily appreciated: very soon after the settlement, many of the lesser streams were the seats of corn mills, to which wool carding appliances were soon added. The records show that the authorities were early awake to the value of these sources of wealth : thus among the many regulations we may note an order that the curious division of the Charles River near Boston known as Mother Brook, which leaves the main stream in Dedham and by flowing into the Neponset River makes that city an island, has a right to carry one third of the water of the Charles. This law which was established in the later part of the seventeenth century attests the value of the mill privileges at that early day.

In its valuable water powers which owe their advantages to the glacial history of the country, the New Englanders found a feature which was destined in a remarkable manner to influence their future, even to the time beyond our day. At first these opportunities were sought for domestic needs alone, but as the expansion of the marine adventures came about, the little mills grew to be great factories and their varied products found a market the world over. In a way this industry, particularly that in woollen cloths, helped the needy agriculture. The sheep, a thrifty feeder, could pick up a sufficient living in fields where cattle would fare ill. To prepare the way for them it was not necessary to clear the land as for tillage, the timber could be felled and burned and the animals turned into the partly cleared ground where they would find subsistence among the boulders. In time they would extirpate the brushwood and so give room for grass. A large portion of the vast area of stony fields in this part of the country thus came to be deforested. Much of these old sheep ranges has been recovered by the woods since the cheaper wool of Australia and the Mississippi Valley has made it unprofitable to keep the creatures where they have to be fed through the long winter. The forests of New England afford excellent varieties of wood for the manufacture of tools and furniture; the bog iron ores, accumulations which often form beneath swamps, served for a time for the manufacture of iron. These advantages led to a very great diversity in the manufacturing work which depended on the water powers for the needed energy.

As the value of the water powers was enhanced by the

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development of the agricultural interest, the people found that the swamps which had, by a natural process, the growth of peat, to a great extent taken the place of the glacial lakes, were no longer worthless lands but had a peculiar value, in that by slight dams at their outlets they could be converted into reservoirs for storing water to be used at the mills. The result has been the revival of hundreds if not thousands of effaced lakes and the extension of many others which had not entirely lost their lacustrine character. The resulting change in the aspect of southern New England has been great. The fields of fresh water which dot the landscape are probably twice as numerous and extensive as they were a century ago. Incidentally we may note that, while these reservoirs are a decided advantage to the mills, they are distinctly harmful to the health of the people; filled in the winter time and drawn down in the summer and early autumn to their beds of ooze, they have become the breeding places for malaria, the apparent source of those repeated epidemics of ague and fever once almost unknown in this part of the country but now a serious element in its list of diseases. Experience in many countries shows that, while a region may be very swampy, so long as the water in the bog areas remains at the same level throughout the year no malaria results, but if the level of inundation be much changed, as is necessarily the case in the reservoir system, ill effects surely follow.

The combined effects of a varied relation to the sea, and the yet more diversified influences of a manufacturing industry which concerned a wider range of work than had ever been undertaken in any other country of like area, in time gave to the characteristic New Englander some peculiar qualities or habits of mind. He became, as he is now, of all the world, the aptest man to discover in any situation some measure of advantage which might be turned to profitable account. He learned the precious lesson that in every place there is something which if well done will pay for the doing. The impress of this way of looking at the world may to the observant traveller be seen in every part of the area which has been subject to New England influences. Within this part of the country we find the most complete subdivision of industries which exists in any part of the world. In most cases these employments have taken root because of some local advantage in the way of access to peculiar natural stores or to certain

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lines of transportation. In other instances they have been founded by some discerning person who, looking over the fields of employment, has seen that his place was fit for some pursuit which had not been essayed in his neighborhood, or was perhaps altogether novel. Thus, to note but a few of these specialized occupations, we find that the Attleboros are given to making jewelry, Leicester to the manufacture of "Card clothing," *i. e.*, the hook covered leather which is used for carding wool; the region about Gardiner to the making of chairs. At least fifty towns could be cited as the seats of such special callings, the peculiar conditions being due to the development of an active-minded people compelled to look beyond the soil or the resources which lay beneath it for the basis of their fortunes, indeed we may say, of their existence. Such eager and efficient application of wit and work to the possibilities of a situation has no parallel in the old world, and is unequalled in this country of expedients: it is a peculiarity of the New England conditions; it can be accounted for by the circumstances in which the people were placed. It is, in a word, the effect of environment.

The capacity to command a situation, which the training of the New England people has given, is to be remarked in their existing agriculture as well as in their other arts; it has led to several modern and novel developments, the most important of which is the culture of cranberries. For a long time this fruit was gathered in its wild state both in the old world and in the new, but it remained for the folk of Cape Cod to invent the complicated method of nurture of the vines which has made this form of tillage one of the important innovations of the century: one which has changed a very poor district into one of the most prosperous seats of crop production, making of worthless land a value which is exceeded only by some of the famous vineyards of Europe, and perhaps certain of the best orange groves of Florida. No other tillage devices of modern days are so original or so important as these, which have converted the peat bogs of the coast into hydraulically engineered fields that give an annual gross return of from two hundred to a thousand dollars per acre. In a like way the use of greenhouses, though common in other parts of the country, early became important as an industry in this section. In some of the rural communities of Massachusetts these forcing establishments are the source of the principal revenue of the people.

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The same eminent inventiveness which has brought about the institution of industries has made it possible for the New Englanders, when the need arose, quickly to change their occupation to fit the altered requirements. In the formative period the same people often followed several callings at once: farming, fishing and shoemaking were often combined. Though the greater part of this elasticity has been lost through the more elaborate organizations of labor, it is easy to see the marks of it to this day. The quality is in the folk, it is ready to meet such changes as are by some apprehended through the Southern competition in the manufacture of cotton cloth. Should this industry betake itself to the neighborhood of the fields where the fibre is produced, it will probably change rather than lessen the industrial life of this region. We often find in New England manufacturing districts which have preserved their activities, though the nature of their labor has greatly and sometimes frequently altered.

An index of the peculiar manufacturing activity of New England may be found in the history of mechanical inventions; from no other people of like numbers have there come so many of those contrivances. If we could determine the nativity of those who have had a share in the important inventive work of a mechanical sort, it is probable that quite one-half of the work in this country has been done by the small part of the population of the country which lies within the part of New England that has partaken of the manufacturing motives. It is plain that here, out of a people who were not by ancestral experience peculiarly concerned with mechanical work, the conditions have served in a singularly efficient way to make a folk who have a remarkable capacity for this peculiar group of tasks. Nurtured in this favorable field, the inventive mechanics of New England have been disseminated over this country, carrying with them their art, which included the power to devise new arts. To them mainly we owe the rapid and wide development of the industrial interests of this nation.

The foregoing considerations suggest, if they do not make it plain, that the influence of environment on man, at least in his civilized estate, though considerable, is not direct, but is brought about in a secondary manner. That it is not direct is well shown by the close likeness between the physical conditions of the people of New England and their now rather

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remote kinsmen beyond the sea. No one who has had frequent opportunities for comparing the two peoples, and who looks beyond the superficial features of clothes and manners, will believe that differences of climate or soil have had any immediate influence upon them. The few indices which have been obtained from physical measurements go to show a firm adherence to the primitive type; the diversities are in mental quality, that realm in which the variations of human quality have long taken place. To see how far these variations have been induced by environment of a kind which influences the conduct of life, let us consider what would have been the probable history of the descendants of the people who settled in New England if they had settled in Virginia or Maryland.

There is no reason to believe that the settlers of New England, if they had found a home in an easily tilled land such as lies beside the James River or Chesapeake Bay, would have had a history greatly different from that which awaited the colonists of those more southern countries. Notwithstanding certain differences of faith, these peoples were essentially alike in all those features which serve to direct the course of populations. But the northern colonists, because they fell upon lands which bore the peculiar stamp which has been given them by the singular processes of the glacial epoch, were forced to peculiar and, to them, unnatural ways of progress. They could look to the earth for no more than a bare and hardly earned subsistence. This incidentally spared them the evils of slavery, for the African slave was profitable only in agricultural districts, and then only in the production of important exportable crops of which New England could produce none. Although they were not by inheritance seafarers or manufacturers, the New Englanders were forced to look to the deep for all their first gains and to the water powers for all their more permanent and larger profits. And in these occupations, through the impress giving effect of labor in peculiar fields, they came by their remarkable qualities.

A verification of the supposition that such effects as environment has had on the New England people have come in a secondary way through the direction which it has given to their occupations, is afforded by the state of many of the isolated communities which, lying in the remoter parts of the district, have lived on from generation to generation without feeling in

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any distinct way the influence of the ships or the workshops, which has so generally affected their fellows. Such isolated settlements show us folk intellectually, so far as activity is concerned, far below the plane of their fellow-citizens in the districts which have had the characteristic life of the region. They are made up of just such folk as we may find in those parts of the United States where the humdrum vocation of farming has preserved the ancient repose of life.

All we know of the animal man is against the supposition that he is ready to vary in his qualities through the direct influence of his surroundings. Such measure of plasticity as he may once have possessed appears to have mostly disappeared. Thus, negroes transferred from equatorial Africa seem to be in no wise altered after an exposure for several generations to the very great change in climate, food, and other conditions which they have found in Virginia, or even in New Brunswick. If natural selection played its ancient part, environment might perhaps be more efficient in its action on mankind than we find it to be, but this agency has long since ceased to be of distinct value among civilized peoples. The only discernible way in which the surroundings can operate on man above the rudest savage state is through the occupations to which they may lead. In this way they may serve to produce varieties in intellectual qualities by two different modes of action; they may bring together into selected communities people of a particular quality who, then intermarrying, may in time come to have certain characteristics. Thus a seafaring town, for the reason that only men of a vigorous mould and an enterprising spirit are apt to turn to or keep in the sailor's life, is, if the occupation be long continued, very likely to show some traces of a natural selective process, which is not "natural selection" as the term is ordinarily used. Perhaps the best term for this process is class selection, a process which is potent in our highly organized societies in a way which is not well recognized by students of sociology. It seems to me that this class selection, which operates even more in matters of the spirit than in those of the body, has been of considerable importance in the development of New England characteristics and that it is through its action that we owe and are in the future to owe much more of the ability manifested in its population.

It should in this connection be noted that, from the beginning,

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this district has been the seat of a singular intermigration of men, both as regards dwelling-place and occupation. There has been no presumption that the son should abide with the parents in calling or residence: the result has been that here probably to a greater extent than in any other equally long settled country the youths have been free to seek the place where their inborn aptitudes would find employment. From this element of freedom has arisen the formation of tolerably distinct groups of population, each claiming and taking its fit share of the offerings of talent, and tending, through intermarriage, to increase the capacity which has been the basis of its success.

The main point of the argument concerning the influence of environment in New England is that the glacial history of the country deprived it of readily tillable soil and compelled the early settlers to resort to the poorest class of fields. The result was that they were driven to the sea and to manufacturing. In these departments of activity the same glacial agents which had harmed the relation to the soil have in large measure favored them, giving good harbors and fishing grounds and excellent water powers. In this way some of the most important directing influences which have affected this interesting people were established; it is not too much to say that the economic conditions of the district were thus determined. If this position be well taken, we may claim that we have here one of the best instances which have yet been adduced to show the effect of the geological structure of a country on the modern development of a civilized people.

It may furthermore be said that what has been done in New England is but a striking example of what is taking place elsewhere in this country. The element of freedom of occupation, which is singularly characteristic of this country, permits the people to group themselves with reference to their environment according to their motives, or, in other words, according to their capacities. The result is, doubtless, to be a classification of our population, based in ability and on the resources for occupation which this land of abounding opportunities affords.

N. S. SHALER

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THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—VI.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

Conclusion.

It remains to consider some larger assumptions which have been extensively made by writers taking the side adverse to what they usually call the traditional theology.

1. While the experience of life shows on every side that habit hardens by use, that the gristle passes into the bone, that under the laws of our nature we travel steadily towards the unchangeable in cases where bias has been habitually and permanently indulged by repetition of acts, the lessons of this experience are to be cast aside with respect to the laws which are to govern character in the world to come, and the unchangeable will there undergo a process of transformation and reversion, by becoming a pliable and docile material fashioned upon new laws contradictory of the old.

2. While the justice of punishing wickedness is admitted, and it is held, or not denied, that the measure of our punishment will be found in the amount and character of our iniquity, and it is moreover felt to be unreasonable for us to impose limitations of quantity and quality on the effect without any adequate power of measuring the cause, the single point of duration is picked (so to speak) out of the case, and it is laid down, without any question raised on severity and intensity, that the prolongation without limit of suffering in any form, whether forensically inflicted or by natural laws as the fruit of character acquired in this life,

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must be under all circumstances incompatible with the justice of God.

3. That the character of the Almighty is rendered liable to changes which cannot be repelled so long as the idea remains that there may by His ordinance be such a thing as never ending punishment, but that it will have been sufficiently vindicated at the bar of human judgment so soon as it has been established and allowed that punishment, whatever else it may be, cannot be never-ending.

As regards the first of these features of the new teaching, which has already been touched in part, does it not amount to a gratuitious substitution of speculation for experience, and is such a substitution to be properly regarded as an act of courage, or as a desperate venture of mental rashness? To my mind it stands in the latter category.

It would be thought strange to teach a reversal of some great law of the natural universe; for instance, a displacement of the law of gravity in favor of a law of repulsion between material substances. Yet it is conceivable that such a change might be brought about as to take small effect upon the main work and purpose of our existence, as our relation to it might be susceptible of adjustment. But the laws of our own constitution and growth, by which our destiny is redeemed from the sport of chance and bound into a whole, supply the standing ground on and from which we are to confront and act upon the universe. How can the propounders of such a scheme rationally expect that future inquirers will accord to their novel, we might say new-fangled, notions, a respect which they themselves have withheld from the most intimate and universal facts of human experience?

As respects the second and third of these assumptions, it would appear that those who make them are in good faith impressed with an apprehension lest the character of the Almighty should suffer, in the estimation of a portion of His creatures, from the currency of tenets which they deem to be irreconcilable with His essential attributes.

There is something that is touching, and perhaps also something that is startling, in this enterprise. It was bold on Milton's part when he undertook

"To justify the ways of God to man,"

and perhaps his success was not so complete as to recommend the

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entertainment, without much consideration, of similar designs. And the first condition to be reasonably asked of them is that they should measure at the outset the scope and extent of their undertaking. Also that they should weigh the question whether, in our present state of clouded limitation, we are to hold ourselves bound or invited to clear the present dispensation under which we live of all the moral anomalies, disparities, and apparent contradictions lying around us; and if so, whether it would not seem to be in the natural order that we should begin with the facts and events of the present existence, concerning which we are armed at least with a store of experimental knowledge, rather than launch upon a series of adjustments for the world future and unseen, on ground which we cannot firmly tread, and in an atmosphere which we have no lungs to breathe.

Evil, according to this philosophy, has no right to a place in this world. They therefore set themselves to work to dislodge it, at least in hypothesis, by assuming that, at some uncertain time, there shall be a reign of universal happiness; and, moreover, there is also to be taken for granted the accompaniment of universal goodness. The reply suggests itself: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?" When the prophets portended a flood of blessing, when the apostles proclaimed a coming triumph of righteousness and peace, the first referred in vision to, and the last brought into possible and visible action, a scheme of means adequately equipped with motive power, whereby the results which they predicted were to be obtained. But this new forecast of the future advisedly, or at least manifestly, passing by the remedial system now in action, steps out into the void that lies beyond it. Not like the cautious Butler, who reckons upon nothing without a foresight of means adequate to the end in view, they make no addition to the "going machinery" of redemption, but totally anticipate results without any indication of the means to produce them. Do they not truly stand as men who make bricks without straw, and anticipate the flowers and fruits of their garden without sowing any seed to produce them? Wickedness and suffering within the bounds of creation are, as they conceive, disparaging to the Creator, and inevitably bring into question either His wisdom, His justice, or His power. They therefore do not indeed provide, but suggest, a sweeping scheme for their removal, thrusting out of the way any established laws of

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our nature which would hinder the consummation. Evils shall vanish; suffering shall have an end; the Almighty shall be vindicated. But is this a real or solid vindication? Does it not rather include within itself the materials of a hopeless dilemma, and therefore the doom of inevitable failure? Evil is to be employed or tolerated up to a certain date, and then, for the honor of God, is to cease. But before that date it has *ex hypothesi* been employed or tolerated; and where was the honor of God then? If it was compatible with the honor of God for a time, why may it not continue compatible, so as to make use of it hereafter? If employed, or tolerated, this was either with reason or without. If without reason, we have no security against its continuance without reason. If with reason, how can we know that the reason which operated before may not also operate after? If it is wise, if there be a vindication at present veiled from our view, how can we presume to say that there is a date at which it must cease to be available? If unwise for the longer period, how shall we show that it was wise for the shorter? If wise for the shorter, how can we tell whether it may be also wise for the longer? There are special dangers attending upon labor which is volunteered; and an imperfect vindication may be worse than no vindication at all, especially in the view of those who see there is open to us an alternative in the reservation of our judgment until the day when the secrets of the Divine wisdom shall be laid open, or more open, to our view.

Let us endeavor still further to exhibit the perilous, and totally ineffectual, nature of these doubtless well-meant attempts to take into our hands the exculpation of Divine Providence. As we see, the objectors of the present day to what they term the teaching of the "traditional theology" appear to think that, when they have got rid of the element of endless duration in the matter of future punishments, they have thereby attained to a satisfactory vindication of the Divine character from the charge of inflicting excessive and unnecessary suffering.

As has been said, it is a very serious matter to undertake at all the vindication of the character of the Divine Being, especially for us who do so little to maintain, improve or repair our own; since it seems to imply, at least for the moment, the possession of a kind of superior position; or to allow that idea, or its results at least, to find their way into the mind. But apart from any

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scruple or difficulty on this score, it does not appear to me that this vindication, however honorably sought, is, or can be, attained by us with our present limited supply of knowledge and means of inquiry. The utmost the vindicator can do seems to be to abate or cancel a single point in the indictment, which it is the practice of negationists to bring against the character of God. It is objected to the doctrine of endless punishment that there is no proportion between offences committed in our narrowly bounded life and the wide field of an unlimited existence, over the whole of which the expected retribution is to prevail. I do not now speak of the recorded replies to this objection, which may or may not be satisfactory. But let us give the objector all he asks; and then inquire whether, by expelling the element of endlessness from punishment, we so alter the spectacle presented to us by the conditions of human destiny, that we can take upon ourselves to bring them all into harmony (and this is the purpose in view) with the character of an all-wise, all-righteous and all-powerful God. We have to meet the challenge of the negationist in other and separate lists. "Show me the justice," he demands, "of placing the responsibility of existence upon creatures, who have no choice given them in the matter, and then weighing them down with tendencies to mischief inherited from their ancestors: with pressure due to adverse and sometimes apparently domineering environment; with suggestion, attraction, menace, danger in every form; with an evil bias rooted in themselves through a degeneracy of nature asserted by our highest, that is, by revealed, authority, and but too largely established by corroborating experience? Is not," he asks, "your free will, on which you so much rely as an argument, frequently placed under an amount of solicitation or pressure such as, in the judgment of every equitable observer, comes indefinitely near to the aspect of coercion?"

I go further and ask whether the objector may not press us, his respondents, with a wider question, and put the following words into his mouth: "You take shelter behind the free will of the human being, which you allege enables him to deal with each action, and with every situation, in detail. But you cannot deny that there is a broader question, the question of existence itself. This existence is admitted to be attended with danger; and yet there was neither a consent

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obtained from us as a condition of our entering on it, nor liberty granted, with a free passage provided, to enable us to lay it down. What was the All-goodness that called into existence free beings, with a fore-knowledge that the misuse of this freedom would bring them into misery? Why were they to be made examples of the law which annexes misery to a failure to do right, without their first being freely made parties to a trial upon that issue? Does not the title to be free upon each of the parts carry with it a corresponding claim to be free upon the great question of existence, which sums up them all?" To his challenges I am able to make no fuller reply than this, that, according to our faith, every man will be judged with full allowances for every adverse incident of his lot, and that God will enable all, who sincerely strive for it, to overcome alike the circumjacent and the indwelling sin, or will in any and every case deal with them according to most exact justice. Then he asks me: "Why were they solicited, and vexed, and stained with evil in any shape? There is no such thing as a universal right inherent in all who have the power to place people in temptation because it is hoped, believed, or even known, that with immense effort they will overcome it."

But, I reply, this evil is for them a means of good, and, by means of the training they receive, they attain to more and higher good than they could have attained without it. But I have not yet fully repelled my assailant. He is again upon me, and he says: "What, then, means your sovereignty of a good power who, in the case of man, is dependent upon our evil principle for the best accomplishment of His design? Add to this what I am entitled to ask: How far does the necessity for this ill-assorted aid extend? Does it go beyond the case of man, and is the whole universe tainted with evil as the condition of becoming good? If man is an exception, why is he only placed under this disadvantage, and at the same time told that he is an object of special if not exceptional or exemplary favor in the Divine counsels? At any rate, there is one order of beings, made known to us by Scripture, and, as many will say, also by experience, with regard to whom the question legitimately arises. These are the fallen angels. Are these, too, under discipline, and intended to reap the harvest of the greater good? If not, why not?" But, you reply affirmatively, then you contemplate the loss from the universe of the power by which this beneficial action of evil is

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maintained? And this runs up into the final question. "Evil is a thing abhorrent to the divine nature; furnish me with an adequate reason why it came into the world." I am obliged to reply that no such reason is in my actual possession, that I must look for it to the region of Faith, and to some province of that region which has not yet been opened, but which is still enveloped in clouds and darkness.

So then all that our objector has done is, in his own estimation, to have effected a certain quantitative deduction from the charges advanced by negationists against the character of God. But the matter is one which cannot be disposed of, nor essentially affected, by any merely quantitative process. The vindication of the character of God is a business that ought not to be undertaken by halves. If we are compelled to halt in the operation before placing that character in the light in which it ought to stand to the eye of some high and sinless intelligence, it may after all be better to take refuge in our own humble condition, and accept the problems of existence under the limited and imperfect forms in which alone God has permitted us to approach them.

Faith and reason unite to assure us that the world to come will be a world of readjustment; where the first shall be last, and the last first, and where both good and evil shall receive their just rewards. This answer covers the whole field. But attempts at vindication, unwarranted, precipitate, and mistaking our poor twilight of knowledge for broad day, both fail of their purpose, and recoil upon their projectors.

I suppose that most of us, if thinking at all upon the coming conditions of our companion pilgrims who precede us on their passage into the shadows of death, must think, upon a survey of the field of our experience, that they defy in innumerable cases our feeble powers of estimation, those cases namely in which some real form of goodness seems to have a real, perhaps a strong and permanent, hold, but where it had not taken conscious and deliberate effect in full conformity to the Divine will. Take, for example, the instances in which, apart from any distinct self-devotion to God, life has been principally or systematically spent in the endeavor to diminish human suffering; and this, perhaps, with the exercise of much active renunciation and self-denial. Or again, where it has been similarly given to that improvement of

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the temporal conditions of human life, which, in a greater or a less urgent degree, the majority of our fellow-creatures, or at the very least a large portion of them, appeared to need. Or again, where men apply their thought and means not to the indulgence of their appetites but to the improvement and expansion of their own powers for purposes of eventual utility. In all these schemes for bettering God's world, regard to the Lord of that world, and humble dependence on His power and benediction ought to have their proper place ; which, by the supposition, has not, or not in due measure, been given to it. Or let us turn our view to another and extended category of those classes who embrace the Divine word with what they think to be an entire willingness, nay, with a sanguine exultation. I do not now speak of the modes in which this state of mind may be contaminated by a self-confidence in utter antagonism to the true life of the gospel, but to the more simple, less entangled case when the broad propositions of religion are accepted, but accepted too near the surface, without measuring them against the entire thought, life, and purpose of the man, so that they are but partially applied and allow of the retention of this or that habit which either falls short of, or even is on its own ground in obvious conflict with, the laws of the Divine life. These appear to be allowable illustrations of the manner in which we shall find that certain suppositions of Butler leave unimpaired all the stringent, as well as all the soothing, life teachings of the gospel; but yet supply the mind in its permitted excursions beyond the grave, which are so often suggested by strong motives of nature and affection, with many ideas such as at once feed us with hope and comfort, and widen our horizon of thought upon the providential scheme and upon the blessings and eventual reach of the Incarnation, that grand remedial instrument on which we rest all our hopes.

In comparison and contrast with the three more prominent theories or doctrines on the condition of man in the world to come, let us now turn to that larger teaching on the subject, which, though only in an occasional and fragmentary shape, Butler has been led to suggest after he has parted from the formal but limited discussion to which his first chapter is devoted. His suggestions do not ostensibly touch the lines of prevailing controversies : but they tend somewhat to modify the idea of an immediate and unconditional finality in the condition of the human

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soul following upon death, which the Reformation of the sixteenth century, from the particular circumstances of its origin, did so much to foster.

Even in his first chapter, Butler intimates that death may issue in not only a continuation but an enlargement of existence; in a state when, through the widening of conditions, what we now deem to be above nature or beyond it, may be found to be thoroughly natural.* And here I ask leave to spend a moment in confessing the comparative security and satisfaction with which I follow the steps of Butler on the rare occasions when he speculates, as comparing him with other speculators. I feel like one resting on the wings of a great and strong bird, when it takes an excursion in mid-air, and is felt to mount as easily as it will descend.

With this notion of Death, as leading to enlargement, Butler's very marked views respecting habit, growth, and evolution, as pertaining to our nature, are strongly in accord. It was from or with these views that he was led to question the philosophy, if not the theology, which with such shallow wisdom seems to teach us that with death the book is closed, at any rate until the Resurrection and the Judgment, by which it sets no great store, and for which it leaves indeed but little room. Such a man as Butler could not be hasty to assume that, if the interval be one of conscious life and action, it can pass without leaving behind it legible traces of its influence upon character.

Butler, as a sedulous observer of what was going on around him, was struck by the great advances which, probably, having Newton in his mind, he conceived to have been recently effected in natural knowledge. The universe is, he finds, in a manner boundless and immense.† It is an inference from this grand physical disclosure that there must be some scheme of Providence vast in proportion to it. Next he noticed‡ the essential tendencies of virtue or goodness to acquire for itself augmentation of power. These tendencies may be expected to operate freely and with energy, when the grievous hindrances which now beset them shall have been removed. They have the signs, what may be termed the air, of belonging to the peculiar conditions of the present life. It is

* *Anal.*, I., i., 31.
† *Ibid.*, I., iii., 28.
‡ *Ibid.*, I. iii., 30, *et alibi.*

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therefore probable that, in the world to come, they may not reappear as now. Should this be so, many souls of men, incapable of normal evolution in the present state, may be found to be capable of it when a favorable change in the balance between auxiliaries and impediments shall have been effected. This may have no more the character of a paradox than when we say that ten pounds, which will not outweigh twenty, will outweigh five. Powers, the action of which was suspended by the adverse preponderance, will emerge into the open, and find scope for action, when that preponderance has been removed or reversed.

The discoveries, partly effected in Butler's time, of the vastness of the material universe at once led his profound and searching spirit to inquire whether, under the guidance of his master principle of analogy, he found cause to draw from the fact of those discoveries in the physical order any collateral inferences in respect to the moral and spiritual world. He did not indeed help to mislead his fellow men by teaching, as is now the fashion in some quarters, that the immense enlargement of the visible kingdom of God proves the insignificance of the world which we inhabit, or discredits the idea that it can be the scene of an exceptional and peculiarily illustrious dispensation, such as is exhibited in the Incarnation of our Lord. His speculation was the very opposite of this precipitate, shallow and barren suggestion: a suggestion of which it is enough to say that, when traced home to its principle, it is detected in the offence of using the weights and measures of the physical universe as the criterion of moral and spiritual magnitude. On Butler's mind these grand disclosures had the effect of widening his conception of the possible scope of the natural and moral government exhibited to us in Nature and Revelation. In effect they suggested to him an enlargement of the purpose and working of the Incarnation itself beyond the scope of the common conception, both popular and theological. For, says Butler, rising to the highest degree of confidence which he ever allows himself to indulge, it is certain that, as the material world appears to be in a manner boundless and immense, there must be some scheme of Providence reaching outside the material world, and vast in proportion to it.* With this weighty observation he winds up a course of thought in which he has pointed out that virtue, so sorely restrained and

* *Anal.*, I., iii., 27.

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hampered here, might in another state of things be relieved from its impediments, and be placed under conditions favorable to its full development and corroboration. And further, that, being thus in itself enlarged and enhanced, it might be exhibited to, and might form a power of attraction for, others who had not yet been drawn to it. And this might happen "amongst one or more orders of creatures"; and the benefit might accrue "in any distant scenes or periods," to those among "any orders of vicious creatures" having among them some who were capable of amendment, and of being recovered through a just sense of virtue.*

Thus does Butler appear to have embraced the ideas, first, that the developments of character effected through the Incarnation of Christ might operate upon beings subject to the Creator, but not belonging to the human race; and, secondly, that, also within the limits of the human family itself, persons who had not in this life in any manner perceptible to us actually crossed the line which divides righteousness from its opposite, might make such further advances as would effect that transition, provided their characters were still in such a state as to leave them capable of effectual amendment.

This limitation is undoubtedly of importance. It secures morality, the religious discipline of life, and the whole scheme of the Christian revelation, against that general dilution, and indeed virtual dissolution, of responsibility in conjunction with the present life which must result if mankind, so powerfully predisposed to a relaxed belief, were instructed to assume that the exercises of this life might be multiplied in, perhaps, an interminable series of existences, and had no exceptional character, no final and determining effect. We may take it for granted that Butler noticed, in common with every careful observer, the equivocal condition in which so many appear to quit the world. Let us first take some of the less difficult among these cases. They have not ceased truly and in their inmost selves to desire good, but they have not brought that desire, sincere yet overweak, to good effect. They perform freely many acts in the service of God; they accept without murmuring every dispensation administered to them from without by His will; they even exhibit much of unselfish devotion to the interests of their fellow men; and yet they have not conformed to the supreme law which in God's own world

*Anal., I., iii., 27.

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places the root and centre of all our vital purposes not only in subjection, but in an active conformity, to His sovereign will: for, where positive love and service are due, mere non-resistance forms no legitimate substitute for them. And yet the heart will not desist from asking: Are not such fruits of partial good, such tendencies towards effectual and supreme good, as mark this multitude of souls, worth preserving, and is it reasonable to suppose they can only be cast away as of none account? It would be still less reasonable to suppose they could be recognized as adequate and normal fruits of the Incarnation of Christ, or represent a spiritual condition which can be permitted to continue unless in train to what is better and in vital connection with the central life and light of the universe. It may then perhaps appear that Butler has found or approached the true meeting point of these contrary but not contradictory suggestions, in the noteworthy section which is probably to be regarded as the crown and coping-stone of Butler's comprehensive and diversified reflections on our condition in the future state.

But these suppositions are indeed no more than an extension of the rational and philosophical belief which the greater part of the Christian Church has always held respecting the laws which govern the condition of the believing dead. The Church has walked in the path opened for it by St. Paul through his prayer on behalf of Onesiphorus. It has condemned our accepting what is termed the sleep of the soul; a speculation amounting to a suspension of human existence, and alike at variance with Scripture, which describes the active enjoyments and even sufferings of the dead, and with reason, which exhibits to us our nature as constituted with a view to discipline and advance through the prolongation of existence and through the action it entails. The Christian dead, then, are in a progressive state, and the appointed office of the interval between death and resurrection is reasonably believed to be the corroboration of every good and holy habit, and the effacement of all remains of human infirmity and vice. The extension suggested by Butler amounts to this: that, while the view of the Church in general only extends to those who have before death given evidence of repentance and faith such as the human eye can reasonably appreciate, still, as he suggests, where this evidence falls short, the root of the matter may be there notwithstanding, and the Almighty may

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reserve to His own jurisdiction the development necessary to cover both the ground which a more palpable sanctification had in other cases visibly secured anterior to death, and that remainder of progress generally reserved for accomplishment hereafter, even by souls of a clearly manifested faithfulness to their Lord.

Under such a view as Butler's, then, of the teaching of our religion as to the dead, it would appear that there may be introduced, at the hour of final adjustment, to receive the divine word, a body whose position, relatively to that of the other believers, may be compared with that of the laborers in the vineyard hired at the ninth and the eleventh hours. True, indeed, that, according to the parable, we are not entitled to say that they had known of and had refused or neglected any earlier offer. But then it may be also true of these, so to speak, belated spirits, that they, either as a class or in particular cases, owed their backward condition rather to the want of opportunity than to a greater perverseness of the will or a more obstinate slackness to hear and to obey. Be this as it may, there are two things on which we may rest with considerable, if not indeed with undoubting, confidence. The first is that there will be no murmuring against the Master's bounty, no grudge as towards those newly admitted to a share of the reward. The second that, in all cases where the smaller degree of progress achieved has been due to the man, and not to the environment of the man, he will take no benefit by his delays; the sum of whatever enjoyments he may by them have unlawfully secured in this life will not in the least degree contribute to his final happiness or augment its sum total; but, on the contrary, will have left behind tracks of the course that has been trodden, and will have impressed tendencies, or left stains upon the soul which have had to be reversed or effaced by a process of discipline, happy indeed in its result, but of which we have no right to assert, as indeed we have no such right in other cases of departed spirits, that the redeeming and consummating process will be accomplished without an admixture of salutary pain.

I have slightly sketched one class of cases, by way of illustrating Butler's supposition, where much good had been generated by the discipline of life, but where it still remained defective in its relation to the central good, and may have sorely lost thereby. There are many other classes, to our eyes yet more dubious, on

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which there would be no advantage in descanting. The fundamental idea lying at the root of his conception is this: that the appreciation of character and of moral action is a high matter, in which our means of judgment are scanty and feeble, that we are therefore not competent to pronounce, in the intermediate region between manifest excellence and glaring sin, upon the state of souls; that, as they may be worse so they also may often be better than the evidence available for our use would warrant our declaring or assuming; that, while the determining impulse may have been received during life, the direction of the resulting movement may not as yet have been exhibited in our sight, and that this awful reckoning which will set the last first, and the first last, is not permitted to us, but is reserved for eyes more penetrating as well as more just.

It may be thought, and perhaps justly thought, by persons of more experience and perspicacious reflection than myself, that, while professing to follow the footsteps of Butler into the Unseen, I have not succeeded in conforming to his Christian and philosophic circumspection. Should this be so, I can only regret my being unequal to discharging the duty of an intelligent disciple; and I cherish the hope that my errors are not either wanton or contumacious. The Master, at least, is here open to no charge.

His speculations on behalf of departed spirits which have not while in the flesh given evidence cognizable by us of their reunion with God, are not loosely projected into space. They are for those only who are "capable of amendment, and being recovered to a just sense of virtue." If we have no adequate means of judging who these may be, our incapacity may suggest the further question: Why should we have such means? The premature possession of them might bring about a relaxation of the bonds of moral obligation. Such is the account I should presume to give of the pregnant thoughts expressed by Butler in the remarkable section we have now before us. He avoids, it will be seen, the dangerous figment of those who please their imaginations by gratuitously supposing, to the grave disparagement of the Scriptures and the great redemption, that a new state or states of probation for us lie beyond the dread barrier of the grave. The question he raises is not that of a new probation, but only whether the present probation may take more complete effect under circumstances more felicitous than those of the ter-

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restrial life. He does not add any thing to the Incarnation, but he asks a guarded question as to the manifestation of results which in their essence have been already wrought though not developed; and he gives us hope of hereafter rescuing a wider domain from the sway of evil or of its consequences, without weakening in the present critical state the laws of righteous award.

As a general apology for the papers which will be herewith brought to a close, I advance a proposition which, at least in its general terms, will not be gravely contested. Those who are conscious of their inability to solve a problem or close a controversy may, nevertheless, render a real, though limited, service if they can eject from it matter gratuitously imported; draw attention to conceptions by which it has been both widened and perplexed; relieve it from the pressure of unwarranted assumptions; secure upon a field of doubtful speculations a temper of reserve; and make contributions towards narrowing the issues upon which men have found or thought themselves to be divided.

In pursuit of this general aim, the following measures have here been adopted.

1. To call into question the title of what is termed natural immortality to the place which it now largely holds in the religious mind of our generation; and to exhibit it as a contested and undecided matter of philosophical speculation, as to which we do not possess material sufficient to warrant the assertion of any duty either to affirm or to deny.

2. To point out that early Christianity was not saddled with the responsibilities attaching to this opinion, and therein possessed a freedom which has been impaired by its unauthorized encroachments and tacit usurpation of the field as a tenet to be accepted as if part of the Christian faith.

3. To show that the Christian religion, properly so-called, is less directly implicated in these contentions than has been commonly supposed; and thankfully to put under view the wisdom and moderation of the early Christian Church in the construction of its Creeds.

4. To describe the three formally developed modes now chiefly prevalent in the presentation of the subject, and leave it to be considered whether there is not good reason sometimes firmly to eschew and condemn, and sometimes at least to stop short of affirming, various propositions which one or other of them has advanced.

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5. To point attention to the diversities of phrase and idea, with which the lot of those rejected in the world to come is set forth by our Lord. My mind is swayed towards the belief that the combined effect of the several declarations is to indicate a Divine purpose of reserve as to all which lies beyond the broad and solemn utterance hereinbefore cited from St. Paul; and that the firm assertion and enforcement of the truth conveyed in that utterance might possibly be found more effective for the practical repression of sin than its development into more copious and detailed, but less certainly authorized, expositions.

6. To bring into view the guarded enlargement of the common field of view, which Butler has conjecturally supplied, and in which he abates nothing from the efficacy of the Incarnation of the Saviour, but adds to the sum of its beneficent results.

All this the present writer has set out as subject to correction, worthy at most only of being deliberately pondered, in the hope that the wheat may be duly winnowed from the chaff. A similar sense of the evils and dangers of self-confidence governs me in the attempt to sketch the frame of mind into which, not as a teacher of religion, but as a private Christian, he seeks to cast his own contemplation of the subject.

The future life, says Butler, is the foundation of all our hopes and all our fears, such hopes and fears as are worthy of any consideration. We are invited to assume an immense inheritance, of which the portion withheld from present view is of such extended range, as to throw the present bounded scene not indeed into insignificance, but into minuteness. In what St. Paul described as the fulness of time, a gospel was proclaimed, tidings of joy and gladness, with a background, it is true, of penal retribution for the obstinately disobedient, but still with joy and gladness for their principle, their determining character; inasmuch as, had it been otherwise, the great gift so long kept for the maturing process in the womb of time would have not been an *euangelion*, but a *dusangelion* to man. The leading office of the gospel, in its bearing on the world to come, was to make known not misery but salvation. Its direct concern was with the moral and spiritual part of man; the part in which he had received a deadly wound; the part which supplies the true enduring basis of what he *is*, the basis of his character. To heal that wound, to supply that character with a fund of enduring vitality,

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it did not furnish him with particular information as to the conditions of the life to come; but, leaving his ignorance to be dispelled at the proper season when it comes, revealed the one great secret which comprised in itself every other that concerned him, the mode and means of his reunion with God.

But in the shadow of this glorious teaching lay the inevitable question: What shall be the lot of those who reject it? This question was small and remote for the hundred and twenty elect souls* in the upper room set upon pursuance of the truth and the right. But it gradually grew large and larger still for the Church as it spread from land to land, and obtained the world's confessed or professed allegiance. The provision for meeting this question was ready to hand. It lay, in a certain sense, outside the gospel, and was anterior to it, like the other laws of our human nature, and of the government of the world by its author. But this law, like all other antecedent and perpetual laws, was acknowledged by the gospel the law of "indignation and wrath, tribulation, and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil,"† yet acknowledged with a sorrow which is shown by the comparatively fluctuating or shadowy manner in which this sad reverse of the picture is handled—the inseparable but obscure under side, so to speak, of the great foundation-stone of peace and happiness. How much do we know of the lot of the perversely wicked? They disappear into pain and sorrow; the veil drops upon them in that condition. Every indication of a further change is withheld, so that if it be designed it has not been made known, and is nowhere incorporated with the divine teaching. Whatever else pertains to this sad subject is withheld from our too curious and unprofitable gaze. The specific and limited statements supplied to us are, after all, only expressions in particular form of immovable and universal laws—on the one hand, of the irrevocable union between suffering and sin; on the other hand, of the perfection of the Most High—both of them believed in full, but only in part disclosed, and having elsewhere, it may be, their plenary manifestation, in that day of the restitution of all things for which a groaning and travailing Creation yearns.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

* Acts i, 15.
† Rom. ii, 8, 9.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE LOYAL WEST.

I HAVE some acquaintance with the country west of the Mississippi River, which is evidently the section designated as the West by Mr. Henry Litchfield West in his article in the April number of the REVIEW, entitled "Two Republics or One?"

I was born and educated in the State of New York. I lived three years on the east bank of the Mississippi River and thirty-five years in Colorado. I have been nearly twenty years in public life and have had, for thirty years, quite an extensive acquaintance throughout the country west of the Mississippi River, with public men both in the National and State governments, as well as with the people. The difference spoken of by Mr. West as to economic principles does exist, and there is quite a general feeling that the East is ungenerous to the West, and such differences may, and doubtless will, divide the people somewhat on sectional lines in party organizations; yet there is no sentiment in the West that will justify the inference that now, or hereafter, the people of that section will favor a divided republic. The suggestion of such a proposition would be regarded as treasonable, and would ruin any party or man who should even hint at such a possibility.

The West is strong and self-reliant. Its natural resources are of a character to justify the very general expectation that some day it will dominate the Republic, both on account of its population and its wealth. Every year the centre of population goes westward, and in a few years it will be west of the Mississippi River.

The West has produced within the last forty-eight years not less than two thousand million dollars of gold, and about one thousand three hundred and fifty million dollars of silver. It looks now as if the production of gold and silver will be greater within the next forty-eight years than in the past forty-eight years.

The West is not only rich in the precious metals, but in lead, copper, and iron. With immense fields of bituminous and anthracite coal, and the finest timber on the continent, it must in time secure its full share of American manufactures.

Agriculture must increase correspondingly, and, with the increase of population and wealth, the West will no longer complain of the East, nor will the East treat the West, as it has heretofore, as a dependency; and instead of the East and the West growing farther apart I believe they will be closer in their relations than they are now or ever have been. The West is loyal to the interests of the whole country. Without manufactures the

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Western Republicans in Congress have maintained with great zeal the theory of protection to American industries. Their interest in coast defenses has not been less than that of those who live on the seaboard. The demand for a navy commensurate in strength with our national greatness and national danger has found its strongest advocates among the representatives of the States that could not be disturbed by a hostile force by land or sea.

The American spirit is strong in the West. An insult to our flag would be resented by the people of the West as it would in no other part of the country. They would not inquire what it would cost nor how it would affect trade and commerce. There will never be two Republics made out of this one. The West will never desire it, and if the East ever does the West will prevent it.

A common flag, a common ancestry, a common interest, justice to all in legislation and administration, will keep the States in a Union never to be broken by foreign or domestic foe.

H. M. TELLER.

OTHER PRESIDENTS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

IN his article in the May issue of the REVIEW on "Men Who Might Have Been Presidents," Mr. Joseph M. Rogers shows that some very slight accidents, circumstances, in fact, that could not be supposed at the time of their occurrence to be important—turned the Presidential prize in more than one election the way it went. How many times those who came so near being President and yet failed, through overlooking these apparently trifling circumstances, regretted their short foresight, one cannot know. But, no doubt, the involuntary reminiscence occasioned by these strayings from fortune was frequent to these men. Webster's failure to get the Presidential office, which Mr. Rogers recalls to us, probably shortened his life.

Putting sentiment and moralizing aside, however, I am certain there are other instances than those Mr. Rogers cites where this close proximity to the Chief Magistracy can be shown. There was one, at least, of which I got the particulars from my father when I was a mere school boy. At the time of the Harrisburg Convention of December, 1839, which nominated Harrison and Tyler for its candidates for the election of 1840, there was a strongly talked of candidate from New York for Vice-President—Mr. Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, of Poughkeepsie. He was not only a rising and brilliant lawyer, but he had held public offices of large importance, the most conspicuous being that of United States Senator.

His career, in fact, seemed so flattering from his own point of view that he hoped it possible, when the claims of more notable men clashed sufficiently to prevent their nomination, to be actually nominated himself for President. So, to check the effort made to give him the second place on the ticket, he put a carefully written letter of declination in the hands of Dr. William Thomas, of Poughkeepsie, a delegate to Harrisburg, which, it is believed prevented his easy nomination to what became Tyler's place.

It is well known that at this convention the second place on the ticket was not greatly coveted, and the delegates were a good deal at sea as to a candidate. Mr. Rogers thinks that Tyler got the Vice-Presidential proffer on account of his tears over Clay's defeat for nomination to the first place. But the current tradition has always been that Tyler was put on to secure the vote

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of Virginia, which at that time and afterward held the same sort of pivotal place in a Presidential contest as Indiana has held in later days.

A second instance of Presidential meanness, which may claim a place in Mr. Rogers' list, recalls another U. S. Senator from New York—Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson. It also recalls the old importance of Virginia in Presidential elections. Mr. Dickinson, it has always been said, could have had the nomination for President at Baltimore in 1852 if he had accepted the proffer of Virginia's delegates to support him for the place which went almost by accident to Franklin Pierce. Being committed to the interests of Lewis Cass, he would not surrender them. If he had done this thing, analogous examples of which later history can furnish, he, and not Mr. Pierce, would have won the election over General Scott, who only carried four States.

But Mr. Dickinson preferred loyalty to his trust, and the steadiness of his adhesion to it was all the more notable since he felt at the time that he was throwing away the Presidency to serve a friend; and, for no other purpurpose, at the end, than to be unimpeachably faithful to him.

JOEL BENTON.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "OPIUM WAR"

A VERY common feature of any discussion in the United States of the trade or commercial policy of England in respect to other nations, is the preference of a charge against her, of having, more than a half a century ago, instituted a war "in order to force poor China to take the opium that England was trying to compel her to import, no matter what the great evils resulting." For this charge, which has been popularly regarded as irrefutable, there is no good or sufficient warrant, further than that complete evidence to the contrary has only within a recent period become popularly accessible through the publication of English state papers; although the would-be American authorities on this subject might, in at least a degree, have become cognizant of the exact truth (as will be presently shown), had they taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the published results of an investigation of this subject by one of their own and greatest statesmen. A summary of the indisputable facts in the case are as follows:

Previous to the inception of the so-called "opium war" between England and China (*i.e.*, in 1840), opium was cultivated in no less than ten of the provinces of China, and its importation was permitted and regularly taxed, the same as any other imports. Opium, the product of India, was imported into China by the East India Company under such circumstances, and without inhibition; but to an estimated extent of more than two per cent. of what would be necessary to meet the demand of the whole Chinese population. The charge that England first introduced opium into China has, therefore, not the slightest foundation in facts.

Some time previous to 1840 the Chinese government prohibited not merely its importation but its use for any purpose, and any violation of these enactments was made a capital offence. As the appetite for opium on the part of the Chinese was not thereby extinguished, the business of smuggling and illicit dealing became very great, and is now known to have been largely participated in by the very Chinese officials whose business it was to enforce the law. The Chinese government, furthermore, was not successful in enforcing their law against opium. What was then also the policy of the British government towards China is demonstrated by the

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fact that Lord Palmerston, then premier, sent a despatch to one British resident agent in China, to the effect that, if any British subject chose to contravene the laws of China in respect to trade in opium, "he must do it at his own risk." On the other hand, the Chinese Government, from the very outset of the opium trouble, refused to enter into any negotiations with the representatives of the British Government, not in the interests of the opium trade, not in the interest of trade at all, but in order to put the relations of the two governments on a footing that would be tolerable and induce the Chinese to no longer assume that all foreigners were barbarians, and that barbarians must be kept under control. When Lord Napier was sent as Minister to China in 1834, its government declined to have anything to do with him, and went out of its way to belittle him by using offensive characters for his name, and in other ways insult him. When Lord Napier, fairly driven out of China, was replaced by Sir Charles Elliot, the Chinese authorities at Canton, for the purpose of deliberate insult to foreigners in general, proposed to make the area in front of the so-called "factories," where British merchants and the citizens of other countries were virtually compelled to reside, a place for the public execution of criminals.

As might have been expected, war followed such a condition of things. It was virtually commenced by the Chinese, who sent a fleet of fire-ships to burn the English shipping in the harbor of Canton. It resulted in obtaining from the Chinese government a promise, that was not, however, kept, that the persons and property of the merchants of all nations trading with China should be protected in the future from insult and injury, and that their trade and commerce should be maintained upon a footing common to all foreign civilized countries. And if England had not undertaken the task of teaching the Chinese this initiatory lesson, the government of the United States would sooner or later have had to have done it, if they were to maintain peaceful commercial relations and trade with China.

The so-called "opium war" of 1840, thus brought about, attracted much attention in the United States, as the interests of its merchants prospectively involved was at that time very considerable, and among those of its citizens who especially considered the subject was ex-President John Quincy Adams, who gave to the American public, in December, 1841, the results of his investigations and study, in the form of a lecture before the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was subsequently reprinted in the *Chinese Repository*, an American missionary paper published in Canton. After tracing historically what had occurred up to the year 1841, Mr. Adams said: "Do I hear you inquire what is all this to the opium question or the taking of Canton? These, I answer, are but the movement of mind on this globe of earth, of which the war between Great Britain and China is now the leading star. The justice of the cause between the two parties—which has the righteous cause? I answer, Britain has the righteous cause. The opium question is not the cause of the war, but the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind, not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal."

DAVID A. WELLS.

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